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*The history of the Roman
emperors, from Augustus to ...*

Robert Lynam

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1877

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ROMAN EMPERORS,
FROM
AUGUSTUS
TO THE
DEATH OF MARCUS ANTONINUS.



BY THE LATE
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HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN EMPERORS.

THE EMPEROR GALBA.

CHAPTER I.

Civil discord.—Galba declared Emperor.—His ancestors.—His honours and reputation.—Assumes the title of Cæsar, and marches to Rome.—Slaughter at the Milvian Bridge.—Galba becomes unpopular.—Clodius Macer and Fonteius Capito put to death.—Galba governed by favourites.—Punishes some of Nero's adherents.—Attempts the recovery of part of the money given away by the late Emperor.—Recalls several exiles.—Refuses a largess to the prætorian guards.

A PEACEABLE government, free from the agitations of civil discord, was the principal advantage which the Romans had hitherto enjoyed under the sway of their emperors. This tranquillity, which might have reconciled them to the loss of their ancient freedom, was now about to be destroyed. As there appeared no legal heir to the imperial dignity, and there was no statute defining by what power such a deficiency was to be supplied, a wide field was

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GALBA,
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opened for the struggles of private ambition, and the dictation of military force. Arrogant competitors, however undeserving, laid claim to the sovereignty of the world; and as the sword alone could decide their pretensions, the Roman Empire was desolated with the same civil anarchy and bloodshed, as had afflicted it in the days of the republic.

Plut. Vit. Gal.
Suet. vii. 2,
&c.; vi. 40.

The senate, in deposing Nero, had conferred the imperial power upon Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had promptly seconded the revolution which Vindex had begun. He was now in his seventy-second or seventy-third year, a period of life when men are more fit to retire from the conflicts of ambition, than to commence them. Nero, on consulting the oracle at Delphi, had been advised to beware of the age of seventy-three; but the caution deceived him, as he hastily imagined that he himself would live to that number of years, while the goddess, as it was afterwards discovered, alluded to the age of his successor. Galba*, though not related to the Cæsars, was descended from an ancient and illustrious family. Under his statues he used to inscribe himself as the great grandson of Q. Catulus Capitolinus; but when he became emperor, he pretended to trace his paternal lineage to Jupiter, and his maternal to Pasiphaë, the wife of Minos! In this wonderful pedigree, we shall not ascend higher than his grandfather, who attained no greater dignity in the state than the prætorship, but was distinguished as the author of some historical productions. The father of Galba arrived at the consular rank, was a diligent pleader, and

* The origin of this cognomen in the Sulpician family is acknowledged by Suetonius to be very uncertain. Perhaps some of those sagacious moderns, who know more of ancient affairs than the ancients themselves, can give us the exact etymology.

moderate orator, but of low stature, and hump-backed. He married Mumia Achaica, the great-grand-daughter of L. Mummius, the captor of Corinth; and by her he had two sons, Caius and Servius. The elder brother, Caius, having wasted his property, retired from Rome; and when Tiberius would not allow him to aspire to a pro-consulship, he put himself to death.

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Servius was born at a villa near Terracina, and was adopted by a rich and beautiful woman whom his father had married as his second wife, and to whom he is said to have freely disclosed his deformity, that she might not consider herself imposed upon in the important contract. Her name was Livia Ocellina, and Suetonius relates that Galba assumed for a time the name of Livius Ocella. It was predicted by Augustus, or, according to some accounts, by Tiberius*, that he would enjoy a brief possession of the imperial power; and the superstition of the ancients has not failed to add some miraculous events in corroboration of the prophecy. His youth was spent in the acquirement of liberal knowledge, and in the study of the law. He married Lepida, who bore him two sons: when he was bereft both of her and his children, he refused to enter into any second matrimonial alliance, although he was strongly solicited by Agrippina, who was then the widow of Domitius, and had endeavoured to gain his affections before the death of his wife. He was politic enough to pay great court to Livia Augusta, who advanced him by her interest while she was alive, and at her death left him a large legacy, which Tiberius fraudulently withheld from him.

* Suetonius ascribes the prediction to Augustus; Tacitus and Dion to Tiberius.

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He was admitted to the honours of the state before the legal age, and in his prætorship exhibited the novel spectacle of elephants walking upon ropes, during the games of Flora. After governing the province of Aquitania for about a year, he was elevated to the consulship; and it was deemed worthy of notice, that, in that office, he succeeded the father of Nero, and preceded the father of Otho, as if it had been a presage of the place which he was to hold among the emperors. He was appointed by Caligula to command the armies of Germany, and acquired considerable fame by establishing strict discipline among his own troops, and by repressing the incursions of the barbarians. At the death of that emperor, many persons encouraged him to aspire to the sovereign power; but he remained quiet, and his forbearance was rewarded by the gratitude and friendship of Claudius. He was afterwards made proconsul of Africa, being honourably selected as the most competent person to restore tranquillity to that province. In effecting this task he displayed strict justice, and even severity, upon the smallest occasions. In an expedition, when there was a great scarcity of provisions, and one of his soldiers had sold all the corn which he had, Galba commanded that he should not be relieved by any of his comrades, and the man perished for his senseless avarice. When he had to decide, amidst conflicting evidence, who was the rightful owner of a certain beast of burden, he ordered that the animal should be led to water with its eyes blindfolded, and that it should be the property of him, to whose quarters it voluntarily went after they were uncovered.

For his prudent conduct in Germany and Africa he was rewarded with the triumphal

honours, and with several priesthoods. Until the middle of Nero's reign his days were chiefly spent in retirement. Whenever he went from home, an immense quantity of gold was carried in his equipage; but whether it was for the purpose of benevolent distribution, or as a resource against sudden banishment and other contingencies, we are not informed. He was residing in the town of Fundi, when the province of Hispania Tarracensis was offered to him; and in the course of the eight years that he held it, his system of government underwent a marked alteration. At first he was zealous and active, and punished all offences with extreme rigour. He cut off the hands of a banker, who had been guilty of some fraud, and fastened them to his table. He ordered a guardian, who had poisoned his ward, to be crucified; and when the man protested against the punishment, because he was a Roman citizen, he allowed him (in mockery) to be executed on a white cross of unusual height. Observing, however, that the most conspicuous persons in the empire were most exposed to the fury of Nero, Galba gradually relaxed his vigour, and endeavoured, by an unoffending sloth, to escape the jealousy of the tyrant. The motives, which induced him to favour the insurrection of Vindex, have been already related; and, just as he was beginning to fear that the plot had failed, and that his own destruction was inevitable, he received news from Rome that Nero was dead, and that he himself was chosen emperor.

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After this intelligence, Galba soon laid aside the title of Lieutenant of the Senate, and assumed the more august one of Cæsar. He commenced his journey to Rome in a military dress, and with a

Suet. vii. 11,
&c.
Tac. Hist. i. 5,
&c.
Plut. Vit. Gal.

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dagger hanging from his neck, as if he considered his life exposed to the assaults of adversaries and rivals. When he arrived at Narbo, in Gaul, he was met by a deputation of the senate, whom he received with dignified simplicity. His progress was slow, and marked by some acts of cruelty, which diffused an unfavourable opinion of his character. Those cities of Spain and Gaul, which were not sufficiently prompt in acknowledging his authority, were punished with heavy tributes, and some with the destruction of their walls; and not only were the governors and procurators put to death, but their wives and children suffered the same fate. It was discovered also, that the new emperor was tainted with avarice, a vice which the people seldom forgive in their rulers, and which would appear doubly odious to those who had long been accustomed to the profusion of Nero.

Verginius Rufus, persisting in his determination to refuse the empire, submitted, after some delay, to the sovereign who had been sanctioned by the choice of the senate. Galba sent for him under pretence of friendship; but, instead of allowing him to return to his army, he appointed Hordeonius Flaccus to be governor of Upper Germany in his stead. While Verginius acquiesced in the elevation of Galba, which he had once opposed, Nymphidius Sabinus, who had been most instrumental in effecting it, conspired against him at Rome. His audacity having increased with his success, he thought that he might transfer to himself the dignity which he had procured for Galba, and, unworthy as he was of it, he persuaded some of the prætorian guards and of the senators to abet his designs. But one of the tribunes, named Antonius Honoratus, excited the soldiers to resist such

an act of infamy, and Nymphidius ended his dreams of ambition by being slain in the camp. Galba observed but little justice in punishing his accomplices; for Cingonius Varro, consul elect, was put to death without any trial. Petronius Turpilianus, a person of consular rank, was destroyed with the same disregard to equity, and for no cause than fidelity to his former master, Nero.

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The unfavourable opinion which had been formed of Galba's severity, was confirmed and aggravated upon his arrival at Rome. When he came to the Milvian bridge, a body of men, who had been selected from the rowers of the fleet, in order to be incorporated among the regular troops, requested that he would allow them the privilege of which Nero had thought them worthy. His strict notions of discipline, or, perhaps, an apprehension that they would cherish a partiality for the memory of Nero, urged him to reject their suit, and to command them to return to their former condition. The men, although they were unarmed, were unwilling to obey, and loudly demanded to be put in possession of the eagle, and other standards belonging to the legionary troops. Galba, instead of treating their disappointment with forbearance, ordered his cavalry to attack them; many were killed on the spot, those that surrendered were decimated, and the remainder were cast into prison. This slaughter of some thousands* of men, was a furious mode of signaling his entrance into Rome, and could scarcely be viewed without dread, even by those who had been the agents in it. Galba also gave offence to a cohort of Germans, that had faithfully served as an imperial guard, by disband-

Suet. vii. 12.
Tac. Hist. i. 6,
37, 38.

* Dion says *seven thousand*; but his account is not much to be depended on, as he calls them the *guards* of Nero.

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Tac. Hist. i.
7, 73.

ing them and sending them back to their own country without any emolument, under pretence that they were too much attached to Cn. Dolabella.

While the new emperor was unpopular at Rome, the deaths of Clodius Macer and Fonteius Capito were announced. The former of these generals commanded the Roman troops that were stationed in Africa, and had been instigated to commence a revolt by a woman named Calvia Crispinilla. She had been a favourite of Nero, and a great partaker of his crimes and debaucheries. Having crossed into Africa, about the time of Nero's death*, she advised Macer to aid his rebellion by seizing the vessels, which were to supply Rome with corn; but he was soon afterwards killed by the procurator of the country, in obedience to the commands of Galba. Crispinilla, although the people demanded vengeance upon her, had interest enough to escape with impunity, and even acquired great power by her wealth, and by having no children to inherit it.

Fonteius Capito, commander of the army of Lower Germany, was stained with avarice and many evil passions; but it was questioned whether he really aspired to the supreme power. The lieutenants of his legions, Cornelius Aquinus, and Fabius Valens, accused him of entertaining such designs, and caused him to be put to death, without waiting for any orders from Galba. It was affirmed, however, that they had endeavoured to urge him to rebellion, and, when they could not succeed, had killed him to prevent the disclosure of their guilt; and that Galba took no pains to investigate a crime which was irrevocable, and

* According to Plutarch, the insurrection of Macer began before the death of Nero.

which appeared to have been done from zeal in his cause. Dion relates, that when Capito was administering justice, and some one appealed from his jurisdiction, the offended commander moved to a higher seat, exclaiming; "Plead now before Cæsar;" and, after hearing the culprit, condemned him to death. Whether Capito was innocent or not, Galba was censured not only for his death, but even for that of Macer, all his actions being now subjected to the captious scrutiny of a people who disliked him. The province of Lower Germany was left for some time without any commander of consular rank: at last A. Vitellius was sent thither, although he had nothing to recommend him for such an appointment, except the dignity of his father's rank.

GALBA,
I.
A. D. 68.
Dion. lxxiv.

Tac. Hist. I. 9.

All aspirants to the empire being destroyed, Galba laid aside the warlike habit which he had assumed on his departure from Spain, and arrayed himself in the peaceful toga. He was soon, however, to experience that his greatest enemies were at Rome, and in his own court. Unused to the burden of government, and oppressed by the feebleness of age, he weakly surrendered himself to the direction of profligate favourites. The chief of these was T. Vinus, who was descended from ancestors of some eminence, but had been disgraced in his youth for an intrigue with the wife of the lieutenant Calvisius Sabinus. Her evil curiosity having led her into the camp in military attire, she was afterwards betrayed into offences of greater magnitude, and committed adultery in the sacred place* where the standards were deposited. Vinus, one of her companions in crime, was thrown into chains by Caligula, but was soon liberated, and

Suet. vii. 11—
14.
Tac. Hist. I. 7,
48, 37.

* The *Principia*.

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obtained the prætorship and the command of a legion. He was afterwards subjected to the ignominious charge of having stolen a golden cup at one of the banquets of Claudius; and on the following day the emperor ordered that Vinus alone, of all the company, should be served in earthen vessels. Having obtained a proconsulship in Gaul, he conducted himself with strictness and integrity. He became the lieutenant of Galba in Spain, and lastly his minister at Rome, being distinguished for unbounded avarice, and for great cunning, promptitude and audacity.

Another of Galba's favourites was Cornelius Laco, prætorian præfect, and a man of intolerable sloth and arrogance. The third was Icelus, the emperor's freedman, who had been allowed to assume the name of Martianus, to wear the gold ring, and aspire to the highest honours of the equestrian rank. He is accused of exercising greater rapacity during the short reign of Galba, than the most corrupt freedmen of Nero had ever committed. These three men resided in the palace, and so constantly beset the emperor, that the people denominated them his pedagogues. Being made the dupe of all their vicious plans and intrigues, he was unable to preserve any just consistency in his conduct. At one time he was strict and parsimonious, at another, careless and profuse; while he denied the most reasonable favours to the rest of the citizens, he allowed his ministers to set every thing to sale, to dispose of honours, privileges, and even the rights of justice itself. His slaves, corrupted by their pernicious example, indulged in all kinds of rapacity, and with so much the greater greediness, as they were sure that their

career could not be long. Thus the emperor became odious by the crimes of his ministers and attendants, which he had not the firmness to correct; and these vices, which the Romans had lamented in the court of the youthful Nero, were viewed with far greater indignation in that of the aged Galba. The people, whose judgment is always biassed by their senses, did not fail to compare the two rulers, and of course the comparison was not favourable to the elder.

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When the citizens required that the guilty ministers and agents of Nero should be brought to punishment, Galba did not listen to the demand with discreet impartiality. He commanded that Helius, Patrobius, Locusta, and some others, should be put to death; but Halotus and Tigellinus, who were considered the most criminal of all, were suffered to escape. The former of these two received the appointment of procurator, and an edict was issued to reprove the cruelty of the people in demanding the death of Tigellinus. The real cause of this man's acquittal was the protection which Vinius afforded him, or the pertinacity of Galba himself, who thought it beneath his imperial dignity to listen to the dictation of the people.

Dion. lxxv.
Tac. Hist. i.
lxxii.

Endeavours were made to recover part of the immense sums which Nero had lavished upon the most unworthy persons. A commission of knights was appointed* for this purpose, who were to compel the possessors to refund nine-tenths of their presents; but it was found that most of them had not even one-tenth remaining, as they had squandered their wealth in the same spirit of prodigality,

Tac. Hist. i. 20.
Suet. vii. 15.

* Not till after the 10th day of the ensuing year, according to Tacitus. If so, the investigation must have been pursued by Otho.

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with which Nero had bestowed it. The people therefore exulted at the discovery, that those, who had received his gifts, were no richer than those, from whom they had been plundered. The city, however, was disturbed with sales and harassing inquisitions; and as it was ordered, that, if the actors or wrestlers had sold what had been presented to them, the sum should be demanded from the purchasers, considerable injustice would necessarily be committed.

Tac. Hist. i. 5,
ii. 92.
Suet. vii. 16.

Although much of Galba's conduct was exceptional, he is said to have performed many actions worthy of a virtuous prince; and of this description was his clemency in recalling a number of exiles to their country. His treatment of the prætorian guards, although by no means politic, seems to have originated in just conceptions of military subordination and forbearance. They had been promised by his partisans, before he was raised to the empire, that they should receive an extraordinary largess; but as this assurance was given without his authority, and was repugnant to the discipline which he wished to enforce, he did not think it incumbent upon him to satisfy it. He checked their cupidity by declaring, that it was his custom to choose his soldiers, not to purchase them. This sentiment, worthy of an ancient Roman commander, was exceedingly offensive to troops, who had been accustomed for so many years to the licentiousness of Nero, and who were more disposed to cherish the vices, than revere the virtues of an emperor. Rome at that time contained a mixed multitude of soldiers from Spain, Illyricum, and other countries; and nearly all of them were alienated by the rigour of Galba, and were ready to

abet the designs of a more popular aspirant to the empire. The prætorian guards not only considered themselves defrauded of their just reward, but were many of them displaced by Galba, as being accomplices in the conspiracy of Nymphidius. A mutual hatred, therefore, was engendered between them and the emperor: he suspected their fidelity, while they inveighed against his parsimony, and derided his old age.

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CHAPTER II.

Tidings arrive at Rome concerning the revolt of the legions of Upper Germany.—Galba resolves to adopt a successor.—Otho aspiring to that honour is disappointed.—Piso adopted by Galba, and presented to the prætorian guards, who are dissatisfied with the Emperor's parsimony.—Otho incited by various causes to seize the imperial power.—Wins the affections, and corrupts the fidelity of the soldiers.—Declared Emperor by the prætorian guards.—Nearly all the troops desert Galba.—A false report disseminated of Otho's death, and the people and the senate profess great zeal for Galba.—Otho harangues the soldiers in the camp, and distributes arms among them.—Galba, having proceeded into the forum, is betrayed and slain.—Vinius and Piso slain, and their heads, with that of Galba, fixed upon pikes.—Burial of Galba.—His person and character.

GALBA,
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A. D. 69.

Suet. vii. 16.
Tac. Hist. i.
42, &c.

WHILE Galba had failed in securing the affections either of the soldiers or of the citizens at Rome, he was opposed with the most determined hostility by the legions of Upper Germany. These troops reflecting, that their expedition into Gaul and their destruction of the forces of Vindex were acts that could procure them no favour from Galba, resolved to renounce their allegiance to him; and at the beginning of the year intelligence reached Rome, that they desired to have another

emperor, but that they would leave the election to the decision of the senate and people. These tidings induced Galba to hasten the plan, which he had meditated for some time, of adopting a successor; for he considered that the want of an acknowledged heir was the principal cause which encouraged the schemes of the rebellious. The choice of the person, who was to enjoy this dangerous honour, agitated all Rome with rumours and expectations: it excited the hopes and contentions of those who were ambitious for themselves, or interested for others, and was a source of discord and intrigue among the ministers of Galba.

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T. Vinus, who was consul this year in conjunction with Galba, and whose power seemed to be daily increasing, endeavoured to sway the emperor in favour of M. Otho. This was the same Otho who had been the dissolute companion of Nero, and who, after being deprived of his wife Poppæa, had been sent into honourable exile, as governor of Lusitania. He had ruled that province for the space of ten years, with a justice and moderation, which were happily contrasted with his former vices; and when Galba began the revolt in Spain, he became one of his first and most active adherents. Having accompanied him to Rome, he cherished the ambitious hope of being adopted by him, as he found himself supported by the favour of the army and of Nero's friends, and by the powerful influence of Vinus, whose daughter (according to rumour) he was engaged to marry. But Laco and Icelus, although they did not openly propose any other candidate, resisted the adoption of Otho; and if Tacitus is correct in his opinion, Galba had too much patriotic wisdom to leave the

GALBA,
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empire, which he had wrested from Nero, in the hands of Otho, who so strongly resembled him.

Galba at least conducted his deliberations with great secrecy, and ended them by a wise and honourable choice. On the tenth day of January, having called together Vinus and Laco, with the præfect of the city and one of the consuls elect, he declared his intention to adopt a noble and distinguished person, whose name was Piso Licinianus. He is said to have formerly selected him to be the heir of his name and property; but the present adoption was promoted (as some thought) by the interest of Laco, who cherished a secret friendship for Piso. In his lineage Piso was descended from Pompey the great and M. Crassus; his parents also, M. Crassus and Scribonia, were both persons of noble birth. Two of his brothers had been put to death, one by Claudius and another by Nero; and he had an elder brother still alive, who, although a person of great merit, was considered by Galba as less deserving of his choice than Licinianus. The youth of Piso had been nurtured in the school of misfortune, a great part of his days having been spent in exile. He was now in the thirty-first year of his age, in his countenance and dress he resembled the ancient Romans rather than his contemporaries, and his grave simplicity was pleasing to Galba, although others censured it as rigid and austere.

Tac. Hist. l. 48.

As soon as Galba had pronounced his determination, he ordered Piso to be brought into his presence, and explained to him the reasons for which he was adopted, and the exalted virtues which would be expected from him, as heir to the empire. Piso received the annunciation of his sudden greatness without any signs of confusion or joy; he expressed his sentiments of respect and gratitude for

Galba, spoke with modesty of himself, and, remaining unaltered in his whole demeanour, seemed to evince that he was worthy of the imperial dignity, rather than desirous of it. It was resolved that the adoption should be first proclaimed in the prætorian camp, whither Galba proceeded during a storm of rain, thunder, and lightning, which in preceding ages would have been held sufficient cause for dissolving the most important assemblies of the Roman people, but which the emperor was not superstitious enough to regard. The guards being mustered, he informed them, with dignified brevity, that he had, in imitation of the example of Augustus, adopted Piso as his heir. That the tumults in Germany might not be magnified by any appearance of disguise, he acknowledged that the fourth and eighteenth legions had been misled by a few seditious persons; but, he added, they had not proceeded further than outrageous words, and would soon return to their allegiance. He made no attempt to conciliate the guards by flattering language, nor by what would have been more persuasive than any eloquence, the promise of a largess. None, therefore, but the officers, and those of the soldiers who were nearest to him, saluted him with any acclamations: the rest observed a gloomy silence, being indignant at the loss of emoluments, to which custom had given them an apparent title. It was believed, that the smallest gratuity would have purchased their favour; but the avarice of Galba, or his unreasonable rigour, would not suffer him to grant it. Piso was afterwards introduced to the senate, whom he addressed in a courteous harangue, and who received him with greater obsequiousness than the military had shown. During the few days which elapsed between his adoption

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and death, he did not again appear before the Romans, but remained in privacy. In the meantime fresh tidings continued to arrive concerning the insurrection in Germany, and it was resolved that delegates, chosen by Galba, should be sent to the refractory army.

Suet. vii. 19.
(Otho) 5.
Tac. Hist. i.
21, &c.

As soon as Otho perceived that he had lost all hope of quietly succeeding to the imperial power, he began to entertain the more dangerous project of seizing it by force. His jealousy of Piso, and indignation against Galba, urged him to revenge; while his unbounded extravagance and enormous debts reconciled him to any scheme, that would enable him to retrieve his affairs. He did not disguise from himself the appalling truth, that he must be ruined, unless he became emperor, and that it differed little, whether he fell by the hand of an enemy in battle, or by his creditors in the forum. He pretended, also, that his life was in danger, and that if Nero and Galba had viewed him with jealousy, much more would Piso consider him a formidable rival, who must not be suffered to exist. He was encouraged by his dissolute freedmen and slaves, who depicted to him all the luxuries and pleasures of the court of Nero, which he might enjoy, they said, if he had the resolution to claim them. He was also incited by the astrologers, whose deceitful art (as Tacitus remarks) was always exercised in the Roman state, though always forbidden. These impostors assured him that there would be fresh commotions, but that the stars portended a brilliant year to Otho. He was the more disposed to listen to their deceptions, because one of their tribe, named Ptolemy*, had

* Suetonius calls him Seleucus. Perhaps the star-gazer had several magnificent names.

foretold to him in Spain that he would survive the emperor Nero. As this had been verified, he hazarded another prediction, that Otho would soon be raised to the sovereignty. Such an event might have been conjectured without much boldness by any one, who observed the sentiments of the Romans, and considered the age of Galba; but Otho was willing to believe it as a supernatural disclosure of the fates, while his cunning adviser impelled him to such measures, as were calculated to insure to himself the credit of being a true prophet.

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Otho had for some time endeavoured to win the affections of the soldiers by acts of courtesy and familiarity, by assisting them with his interest, and relieving them with his money, and by uttering complaints and insinuations against the unpopular conduct of Galba. Whenever he entertained the emperor at his house, he caused each of the guards who attended him, to be presented with a piece of gold.* He carried his profusion so far, that when a soldier named Proculus, had a dispute with his neighbour concerning the boundaries of their land, he purchased the whole of the neighbour's ground, and gave it to the favoured claimant. When he had resolved to seduce the guards from their allegiance, he bribed, by means of his freedman, two of the common soldiers, whom he found to be distinguished for sagacity and resolution; and these two men commenced the plan of transferring the Roman empire from one prince to another, and in a short time really effected it. By presents and liberal promises, they persuaded a few of their comrades to join the conspiracy. They endeavoured to fill the minds of the rest with alarm and discontent,

* The *aureus*: this coin was equal to 25 *denarii*, or 17s. 8½d. of English money.

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by representing to them that they were suspected as partisans of Nymphidius; and by reminding them of the licence which they had enjoyed under Nero, of the injustice with which Galba had withheld their donatives, and of the probability that he would soon deprive them of all their rights and privileges. The disaffection spread from the prætorian guards to the legions and auxiliary troops, as soon as the revolt of the Germanic army was divulged. Of these dispositions of the soldiers, Laco remained totally ignorant, and his indolence and perverseness greatly favoured the concealment of the plot. Some intimations of it reached even the ears of Galba, but they were derided by the wilful præfect, who was offended at any one that possessed greater knowledge than himself, and rejected the wisest counsel which was offered by others.

The conspirators considered their plans sufficiently matured on the 14th of January, and would have proclaimed Otho emperor in the evening, as he was returning from supper, if they had not been afraid of the mistakes and confusion, which darkness and the inebriety of the soldiers were likely to create. The execution, therefore, of the plot being deferred until the following day, Otho went in the morning to offer his respects to Galba, was received by him with the usual salutation of a kiss, and was present when the sacrifice commenced. The soothsayer Umbricius, having inspected the entrails of the victim, declared that their appearance portended treachery from a domestic enemy; and Otho, who was standing near, heard the prediction with secret pleasure, as he considered it favourable to himself in the same degree that it was unfavourable to Galba. In a short time his freedman Onomastus came to inform him, that the builders

were waiting for him; which message was the secret signal, that his friends and the conspirators were ready. Having alleged, therefore, as an excuse for his departure, that he was going to inspect an old house which he intended to purchase, he hastened through the back gate of the palace to the golden column* in the forum, near the temple of Saturn, where the soldiers had been commanded to assemble. He did not find there more than three-and-twenty of the guards, who saluted him as emperor, hastily placed him in a litter, and hurried him with drawn swords towards the prætorian camp. On his way thither, he was joined by a few more soldiers, and by some other persons, who were either privy to the plot, or who followed in silent curiosity. Their entrance into the camp was not opposed by Julius Martialis, the tribune on guard, either because he was overcome with surprise and fear, or because he secretly favoured their design. The other tribunes and centurions offered no resistance; and it seemed that the crime which had been begun by a few daring soldiers, was seconded by the wishes of many more, and by the acquiescence of all.

Galba was pursuing his inauspicious sacrifices, when he was disturbed by the report, first, that some senator was being carried into the camp, and next, that Otho was the person. Messengers of the evil intelligence arrived from all parts of the city, the timid exaggerating, and the courteous endeavouring to soften it to the ears of the emperor. After some consultation, it was resolved that Piso should address the cohort which was on guard at the palace, and these soldiers listened to the appeal

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* Called *Miliarium aureum*, because the roads of Italy were measured from it. See vol. i. p. 29.

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which he made to them, and prepared themselves for action. Officers were dispatched to secure the fidelity of the other troops, that were quartered at Rome, but they found nearly all in a state of disaffection or rebellion. Celsus Marius, who was sent to those of the Illyrian army, was assailed by their lances, and compelled to flee. Three of the prætorian tribunes went to the camp, with the hope of suppressing the sedition at its commencement; but two of them were overawed by threats, and the other was disarmed. The marine legion, remembering the slaughter of their comrades which Galba had committed, joined the rebels without delay. Some German troops, whose health Galba had taken extraordinary pains to restore after the ill effects of a long voyage, wavered for some time, and at last came to his assistance; but too late, through having inadvertently taken a circuitous road.

In the mean time the people, long accustomed to offer their flattery to every one in power, surrounded the palace, and with obstreperous zeal demanded the death of Otho and the conspirators. Galba was perplexed with the conflicting advice of his ministers; for while Vinius counselled him to remain within doors, Laco and Icelus urged him to face the conspirators with promptitude and resolution. Piso was sent forward to the camp, in expectation that his high character might allay the sedition; and he had scarcely departed, when a rumour was propagated, that Otho had received the punishment of his guilt, and was slain. Many were of opinion that it was disseminated by the partisans of Otho himself, in order to entice the emperor from his palace; but it gradually acquired credit by the assurance of those, who declared that they had been witnesses of the sanguinary deed. Deluded by

their bold assertions, not only the people, but most of the knights and senators, rushed into the presence of Galba, lamenting that their vengeance had been forestalled, and eager to display their zeal in boastful and impotent threats. While all affirmed what none knew, Galba prepared to ascertain the truth in his own person, and having put on a cuirass, was carried from the palace in a litter. He was met by one of the guards, named Julius Atticus, who, lifting his blood-stained sword, exclaimed, that he had killed Otho: upon which Galba, inflexible in his notions of justice and discipline, replied, "Comrade, who commanded you to kill him?"

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Otho, so far from being dead, was acknowledged as emperor in the camp, where all irresolution on the part of the soldiers had been succeeded by the warmest alacrity and zeal. In the place, where the golden statue of Galba had lately glittered, Otho was elevated amidst standards and banners; and as the men flocked into the camp, they were conducted to him with shouts and exhortations, directed to take the oath of allegiance, and to revere him as their future sovereign. The common soldiers were more active in this ceremony than the tribunes and centurions, whom they viewed with a watchful suspicion. Otho received their homage with servile humility; and when the whole marine legion had sworn fidelity to him, he harangued the soldiers collectively, inveighing against the cruelty and avarice of Galba, the rapacity of his freedmen, and the moroseness of the adopted Piso, declaring that he himself would be satisfied with whatever power they should commit to him. He afterwards ordered the armoury to be opened, and the men, seizing the weapons

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promiscuously, equipped and arranged themselves as they thought fit, without waiting for the commands of their officers.

Galba, having quitted his palace, was proceeding to the forum, when he was overtaken by Piso, who had been deterred from going to the camp by the appearances of rebellion, which everywhere encountered him. When Marius Celsus, and others, brought unfavourable tidings to Galba, many of those who had just pretended such zeal in his cause secretly departed from his retinue. The unfortunate emperor, amidst the contradictory counsels of his friends, advanced into the forum, while the people and all around him were absorbed in consternation and dismal silence. Otho, being informed that the populace were arming themselves, had commanded his troops to march with dispatch and anticipate their enemies. They rushed, therefore, into the forum with their horses at full speed, and as soon as they were observed by the standard-bearer of the cohort which accompanied Galba, the traitor dashed to the ground the image of the emperor which he was carrying on his ensign. Upon this signal, evincing the unanimous adherence of the soldiers to Otho, the multitude began to flee from the forum, swords were drawn against those who delayed their flight, and both senators and plebeians were trodden under foot. Galba was thrown from his chair near the Curtian lake, and stabbed in his throat by a soldier: after which many others lacerated his arms and legs (for his breast was protected by a cuirass), and inflicted wounds upon his aged body in the spirit of wanton barbarity. His last words, which would be little noticed during the tumult of his assassination, are variously reported. According to some accounts,

he submissively asked what evil he had done, and promised to pay the donative within a few days: Others relate that his behaviour was more consistent with his general character, and that, willingly presenting his throat to his murderers, he bade them strike if it was for the welfare of the state.

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Vinius, who had been one of the chief authors of his death, and who was suspected of being in league with Otho, was next attacked and slain. Piso, though wounded, was able to escape to the temple of Vesta, in consequence of the protection which he received from the valour of a centurion, named Sempronius Densus, who was faithful to his allegiance amidst the universal treachery of his comrades. But even the sanctuary did not long afford a refuge to Piso, who was dragged forth by two soldiers sent for that purpose by Otho, and barbarously murdered at the doors of the temple. It is impossible not to grieve at the death of this noble Roman, who had been selected, solely on account of his virtues, to inherit the imperial dignity, and who, after bearing the invidious title of Cæsar for four days, was slain by his exasperated rival. Otho is said to have felt far more revengeful pleasure at his death, than at that of Vinius or Galba. The heads of all three were fixed on pikes, and carried with insulting parade amidst the standards of the cohorts; while the soldiers ostentatiously exhibited their blood-stained hands, and boasted of the share which they had taken in the murderous affray. No less than one hundred and twenty letters from persons, who claimed rewards for their services on this day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; but, as such merit is always odious to a reigning prince, he commanded all the petitioners to be put to death.

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The body of Galba, after being exposed to many insults, was buried in his own private gardens by his steward Argius. His head had fallen into the possession of the soldiers' servants, who carried it with savage mockery round the camp, and then sold it to the freedman of that Patrobius who had been killed by Galba. This man cast it in revenge before his master's tomb, where it was discovered by Argius on the following day, and deposited with the remains of the emperor's body.

Galba had reigned but seven months and seven days, reckoning from the death of Nero. He was of good stature, with bald head, blue eyes, and hooked nose. He was disfigured by a large excrescence on his right side, and was so much afflicted with the gout, that he could not bear a shoe on his foot, nor hold a book in his hands. His infirmities did not prevent others from flattering him upon his vigour, nor himself from believing their adulation; for, a few days before his death, he had boasted in the words of Homer*, that his strength was still unimpaired. This instance of vanity was remembered by the wretches who carried his head round the camp, and drew from them this brutal sarcasm: "Now, Galba, enjoy thy vigorous old age!" If he had been younger, when he obtained the imperial power, he would probably have exercised a more firm and vigilant restraint over his ministers, and would not have suffered them to abuse their authority, to the destruction both of him and themselves. In all the former stages of life he appeared equal to the dignity and trust which were reposed in him; but when he gained the sovereignty, he proved deficient in that combination of qualities, which was

* Ἔτι μοι μένος ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν.—Il. v. 254.

requisite for wielding it. His parsimony and avarice were odious in the ruler of the whole civilized world. His severity and discipline were repugnant to the degenerate age in which he lived, and as they were not enforced with discretion and consistency, they did not secure him the approbation even of the just and virtuous. He appears, however, entitled to the praise of good intentions; and in tranquil times, by the aid of upright ministers, he might have governed the empire with considerable renown. According to the summary which Tacitus has given of his character, he appeared superior to his rank before he was emperor, and would always have been considered worthy of the supreme power, if he had not obtained it.

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THE EMPEROR OTHO.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestors, and early youth of Otho.—Otho rescues Celsus from destruction.—Puts Laco and Icelus to death.—The prætorian guards appoint their præfects, and complain of their centurions.—Otho receives the imperial titles.—Allows the rites of burial to Piso and Vinus.—Discontent in the Germanic armies.—Vitellius instigated to revolt.—Acknowledged emperor by his troops and some of the states of Gaul.—Puts to death persons obnoxious to the soldiers.—Despatches Cæcina and Valens for the invasion of Italy.—Slaughter of the people of Divodurum by the forces of Valens.—Attempt of the Lyonnese to incense Valens against the people of Vienne, who pacify him by presents.—Helvetia ravaged by Cæcina.—Milan and other Transpadane towns declare for Vitellius.—Alarm at Rome.—Promotion of Celsus.—Death of Tigellinus.—Fruitless proposals made to Vitellius.—Otho acknowledged by the troops in Dalmatia, Pannonia, Africa, and the East.—Replaces the statues of Poppæa.—Hesitates about honouring Nero's memory.

M. SALVIUS Otho, who had made himself emperor by rebellion and bloodshed, was now in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and was descended from

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 Suet. vii.
 (Otho) 1, &c.
 Tac. Hist. ii.
 60.

an ancient and honourable family of Etruria. His grandfather was elevated to the senatorian rank through the interest of Livia, but obtained no higher office than the prætorship. His father, L. Otho, was a great favourite with Tiberius, and so much resembled him in countenance, that many persons believed him to be his son. He was invested with all the honours of the state, and acquitted himself with the most rigid justice in the proconsulship of Africa, and in several extraordinary commands. In Illyricum, some of the soldiers had killed their officers, under pretence that they had abetted the revolt of Camillus; and, for this act of insubordination, L. Otho put them to death, although he knew that Claudius had rewarded them with promotion. Such fearless equity increased his reputation, but deprived him of the favour of Claudius: he soon, however, recovered it by disclosing to the emperor a plot which was concerted against his life by a Roman knight. After this service, Claudius enrolled him among the patricians, and generously acknowledged his merit, by declaring that he could not wish even his own children to possess more eminent virtue. He married a distinguished woman, named Albia Terentia, who bore him two sons, L. Titianus and M. Salvius.

The younger of these, who was afterwards emperor, by no means inherited his father's virtues; but often received reproof, and even corporal chastisement from him, on account of his dissolute and prodigal behaviour. He is said to have been in the habit of wandering through the streets at night, and if he met any feeble or intoxicated person, his diversion was to toss him in a cloak. After his father's death, he en-

deavoured to win the favour of a freedwoman, who had interest at court, and even pretended to be in love with her, although she was old, and almost decrepit. By her means he was introduced to Nero, and soon became the most powerful of the emperor's favourites, on account of the similarity of their dispositions and manners. He was the companion of his convivial hours, the partaker of his plans and secrets, and privy even to the nefarious design of murdering his mother Agrippina. Their league of wickedness was interrupted by a jealous contention for the possession of Poppæa. Otho, as we have related, was sent into Lusitania, whence he returned, after a long exile, to usurp the imperial power, which Nero had been unable to preserve.

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As soon as Galba was murdered, the tide of adulation turned: the senate and people rushed with anxious rapidity to the camp, inveighed against Galba, kissed the hands of Otho, and extolled the discernment of the troops in selecting such an emperor. Otho received every one with courtesy, and endeavoured to soften the fierce and revengeful temper of his soldiers. They demanded that Marius Celsus, who was consul elect, and who to the very last had maintained his fidelity to Galba, should be consigned to punishment. As this might have been the commencement of a system of revenge and plunder, Otho dexterously evaded what he had not absolute authority to forbid. He rescued Celsus from instant destruction, by ordering him to be put in chains, and by alleging that he should suffer heavier punishment hereafter. Laco was not deemed worthy of any lenity, but, under pretence of being conducted into exile, was stabbed by a soldier whom Otho had

Tac. Hist. i.
45.
Suet. vii.
(Otho) 7.

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sent for that purpose. Icelus, being but a freed-man, was condemned to public execution.

The soldiers, having elected their emperor, assumed the right of electing the prætorian præfects, and fixed their choice upon Plotius Firmus, who had been one of the earliest partisans of Otho, and Licinius Proculus, who was his intimate friend. They appointed Flavius Sabinus to the office of præfect of the city, which he had held under Nero; and it was considered that this favour would conciliate Vespasian, who commanded the Roman forces in Judæa, and was the brother of Sabinus. As the troops had now the chief authority in their hands, they protested against the arbitrary exactions of their centurions. So lax was the discipline of the guards, that a fourth part of them might obtain furloughs, or remain idle in the camp, if they could pay a stipulated sum to the centurions. This practice, while it was the cause of great licentiousness among the soldiers, entailed upon them a heavy tax; for the centurions continued to harass them with the severest duties, until they consented to purchase their exemption. Otho was afraid of provoking the centurions; and, while he rendered justice to those whom they oppressed, endeavoured to pacify both parties by promising that the money given for immunities should be paid every year from his treasury. This arrangement was so much approved, that succeeding princes adopted it, being sensible, perhaps, that the decay of Roman discipline precluded them from more rigorous plans.

At the close of the day*, Otho appeared before the senators, who had been convened by the authority of the city prætor, the two consuls,

* 15th of January.

Galba and Vinius, being dead. Having pretended that the soldiers had carried him away by force, he received from the obsequious fathers the tribunician power, the name of Augustus, and all the honours enjoyed by former princes. They strove by their adulation to obliterate from his mind the reproaches and insults which they had so lately cast upon him; and he appeared to forget their duplicity, though the shortness of his reign left it uncertain whether he intended to revenge himself upon them at a more convenient season. As the forum was still reeking with blood, he gave permission that the heap of slain, over which he was carried to the Capitol and the palace, should be burned and receive the rights of sepulture. The obsequies of Piso and Vinius were performed by their relatives, after their heads had been purchased from the murderers, who had preserved them for the sake of putting them to sale. The will of Piso, who died poor, was carried into effect; while that of Vinius was annulled, on account of his excessive wealth. Otho, the first night he held the imperial dignity, is said to have been disturbed by terrible dreams, and to have been driven out of bed by the phantom of Galba, which he saw in his sleep. If the reproaches of conscience, and the recollection of the sanguinary scenes of the past day, were not sufficient to produce this effect, he was soon to experience, that the eminence to which guilt had raised him, was surrounded with innumerable perils and tumults.

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Many days before he usurped the supreme power, another competitor for it had arisen in a distant part of the empire, and had gained the support of two formidable armies. The legions, encamped along the Rhine in the provinces of Upper and

Tac. Hist. i.
51, &c.
Suet. vii.
(Vitell.) 7, 8.

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Lower Germany, had been greatly dissatisfied at seeing the empire placed under the dominion of Galba. They were sensible that they had opposed the advancement of that prince, by destroying the army of Julius Vindex. At the same time their successful campaign had inflated them with an opinion of their own prowess, disgusted them with the indolence of peace, and made them desirous of signalizing and enriching themselves in the vicissitudes of another war. The Gallic states, that had been punished by Galba with the loss of their territories, while their neighbours had been rewarded with immunities, were discontented and refractory. The people of Lyons were hostile to him on account of the liberality which they had experienced from Nero after the conflagration of their city, and they eagerly invented unfavourable rumours, which were propagated through Gaul to the camps of the Romans. Among other reports, which were hastily credited, it was asserted that the legions were to be decimated, and the most active of the centurions to be dismissed from the service. While such falsehoods were disseminated by the malicious, and believed by the timid and the discontented, the resolute instigators of revolt surveyed their own strength with the firmest confidence. Six Roman legions, two in Upper Germany, and four in the Lower, would present a formidable combination against an emperor, who came from Spain with a single legion, and who was unpopular among his troops at Rome.

About the beginning of December in the preceding year, Aulus Vitellius arrived in Lower Germany, to take the command in room of Fonteius Capito, who had been put to death. The discontented troops received him with great enthu-

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siasm, considering that his eminent birth, and his easy and prodigal disposition, would qualify him to be the instrument of their rebellious designs. During his journey, he had carefully saluted all the private soldiers he met, had been exceedingly courteous to travellers and muleteers, and had sometimes allowed his familiarity to carry him beyond the decorum of good breeding. On his arrival in the camp, he granted every petition which was made to him, lavished his own money and that of others without moderation or judgment, restored the soldiers who were in disgrace, and forgave those who were condemned to punishment. Such popular vices were dignified with the name of virtues, and the men loudly commended his affability, clemency, and liberality. There were two lieutenants of legions, Alienus Cæcina, and Fabius Valens, men of unbounded ambition and temerity, who excited Vitellius to an enterprise, from which his own sluggish nature would otherwise have recoiled. Valens was displeased with Galba, because he considered that his zeal in checking the designs of Capito, and in other services, had not been sufficiently acknowledged by him. He, therefore, exhorted Vitellius to avail himself of the ardour of the troops, to accept the power which they were ready to bestow upon him, and to which he was justly entitled by the dignity of his ancestors. Cæcina, who had been quæstor in Bætica, had actively espoused the cause of Galba, and been rewarded by him with the command of a legion in Upper Germany. It was afterwards discovered, that he had embezzled the public money; and for this offence, he was to be brought to trial; but in order to avert such a disgrace, Cæcina was ready to

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favour any commotion, and to deluge his country with civil bloodshed. He was a young man of immoderate desires, but well qualified to ingratiate himself with the soldiers, by the attractions of a graceful exterior, a lofty stature, and a courteous address.

Under such officers, the Germanic troops were soon stimulated into rebellion. On the first of January, when the two legions of the upper province were required to take the oath to Galba, they threw down and broke his images, and swore allegiance not to him, but to the Roman senate and people. None of the lieutenants and tribunes interfered for the sake of maintaining Galba's authority, while some of them even took a conspicuous part in the tumult. Four of the centurions, who endeavoured to protect the emperor's image from insult, were overpowered by the violence of the soldiers, and put in chains. Hordeonius Flaccus, the commander-in-chief, being both old and infirm, and a man of irresolute character, made no attempt to quell the rising sedition; instead of encouraging such of the soldiers as were obedient, and intimidating such as wavered, he sluggishly suffered the rebellious portion to gain the ascendancy in the camp.

In the lower province, the same day passed with many symptoms of disaffection, but without any acts of absolute mutiny. The oath was taken to Galba, amidst much hesitation and silence. Some of the soldiers cast stones at the emperor's images, others restricted their anger to murmurs and threats, and most of them waited for others to begin the tumult, which they would have gladly seconded. At night, Vitellius was informed, while he was supping at Cologne, of the insurrection

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which had commenced among the legions of Upper Germany. He considered that the oath, which they had taken to the Roman senate and people, was merely a specious disguise, and that a crisis had arrived, which would be favourable to his own aggrandizement. He, therefore, sent messengers to his lieutenants and troops, to inform them, that the neighbouring legions had revolted against Galba, and to remind them, that they must either take up arms against their comrades, or submit to some new emperor. He bade them, also, consider whether there would not be less danger in electing a prince themselves, than in receiving one from the dictate of others.

This appeal was quickly answered; for, on the following evening, Fabius Valens entered Cologne with a body of cavalry, and saluted Vitellius with the title of emperor. They carried him from his chamber in an undress, and paraded him through the principal streets, holding in his hand the sword of Julius Cæsar, which had been taken from a temple of Mars, and presented to him by some unknown person. His dining-room happening to catch fire, the soldiers began to be disheartened by the ominous nature of the accident; but he exclaimed to them, "Be of good courage, for a light has shone upon us"—and these were all the words which he thought it necessary to address to them upon his exaltation. All the legions under his command readily supported his claim to the imperial dignity; and on the following day, (which was the third of January,) the army of Upper Germany acknowledged his authority, regardless of the obedience which they had lately professed towards the Roman senate and people. The inhabitants of Cologne, together with those of

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Treves and Langres*, who had been punished by the severity of Galba, showed as much zeal in the cause of Vitellius, as the armies themselves, offering him supplies of men and of all the necessities of war. The humblest individuals in the towns and the camps appeared ready to contribute their belts and trappings, and the silver decorations of their arms, some of them being impelled by the enthusiasm of the moment, and others by the greedy expectation of an ample recompence.

Vitellius readily assumed the title of Germanicus, which was offered him by the troops; he deferred taking that of Augustus, and declined altogether the name of Cæsar. The offices, which were usually filled by the emperor's freedmen, were assigned by him to Roman knights. He defrayed, from his own treasury, the money which the centurions claimed for exemptions; and in this plan he and Otho remarkably accorded†. He complied for the most part with the demands which the soldiers made for the punishment of those who had displeased them. Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of Belgica, was immediately put to death; but he had already dispatched letters, apprising Galba of the revolt in Upper Germany. Julius Bardo, præfect of the fleet, who was accused of having insidiously contrived the death of Fonteius Capito, was kept in custody for a time, and liberated when the anger of the soldiers was appeased. But a centurion, named Crispinus, was sacrificed to their rage, because he had been a more humble agent in the crime, having imbrued his hands in the blood of Capito. Valens and others, who were suspected as the principal delinquents, were suffered to escape. But the greatest act of injustice was the command

* Treveri et Lingones.

† See page 32.

which Vitellius issued for the death of the four centurions, who in Upper Germany had endeavoured to protect the images of Galba during the tumult on the first of January. They were murdered for their fidelity, which, as Tacitus observes, is the most grievous of all crimes in the eyes of rebels.

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Valerius Asiaticus, lieutenant of the Belgic province, was among the first partisans of Vitellius, and was afterwards selected to be his son-in-law. Junius Blæsus, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, also joined him; and he was soon strengthened by the troops of Rhætia, and those of Britain. Thus powerfully supported, Vitellius detached two armies, under the command of his lieutenants, for the invasion of Italy. Fabius Valens, with about forty thousand men, was to invite the Gauls to submission, to devastate their lands if they resisted, and then descend into Italy by the Cottian Alps*. Cæcina, with thirty thousand men, was to take the shorter route by the Penine† Alps. Vitellius, having recruited his forces with German auxiliaries, was to follow with the remaining army, at such a degree of speed as his indolence would allow. For the difference between his zeal and that of the soldiers was most remarkable. The men, impatient of all delay, and regardless of the severity of winter, were eager to march to Rome, considering that nothing more frequently gained the victory in civil wars than decisive rapidity. But Vitellius, as if he had no difficulties to combat, indulged in torpid sloth and luxurious feasting, being intoxicated and surfeited with food, even in the middle of the day. The ardour, however, of the soldiers supplied his want of energy, and prompted them to perform their duties as zealously,

* Mont Cenis.

† The Great St. Bernard.

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Suet. vii.
(Vitell.) 9.

as if they had been under the inspection of a vigilant commander.

When the troops under Valens commenced their march, it was considered a most favourable augury, that an eagle suddenly appeared on the right, and, for a long time, continued to fly in the direction in which they were proceeding. The omens, on the contrary, which happened to Vitellius himself, are said to have been of an inauspicious nature. Valens, knowing the friendly disposition of the Treveri, entered their territory without suspicion. But at Divodurum* his soldiers, after experiencing great courtesy, were seized with an extraordinary panic, and suddenly took up arms for the slaughter of the innocent citizens. They were not impelled by any desire of plunder, but by an unaccountable fury, which all the entreaties of their general could not mitigate, until they had slain about four thousand persons. This sanguinary conduct diffused such terror throughout Gaul, that, wherever they came, the citizens and magistrates went out to meet them, the women and children prostrated themselves on the roads, and every kind of submission was offered, as if for the purpose of appeasing an enraged enemy.

When Valens arrived in the country of the Leuci†, he was informed of the murder of Galba, and of the election of Otho to the imperial power. He and his army received the intelligence without any emotions of joy or alarm, and pursued their march with the same resolution as before. The Gauls, to whom Otho and Vitellius were equally hateful, embraced the cause of the latter, because the presence of his armies rendered him the more

* Metz.

† Toul.

formidable. The Lingones had supported his cause from the beginning: the Ædui submitted through fear; and although Valens sought a pretext for attacking them, they pacified him by sending gratuitous supplies of provisions, in addition to the arms and the money which they were ordered to contribute. The people of Lyons furnished their aid with alacrity, and endeavoured to make Valens the instrument of revenge against their neighbouring enemies. They were burning with hostility against the inhabitants of Vienne, who had received great honour from Galba, while they themselves had been punished with the confiscation of their revenues. They strove, therefore, to incense the Romans by reminding them, that the city of Vienne had favoured the revolt of Vindex, had raised legions for the support of Galba, and had made itself the focus of all the hostile and seditious schemes in Gaul. By expatiating upon these topics, and upon the rich booty which it offered to the rapacity of its plunderers, they excited all the angry and greedy passions of the soldiers. The people of Vienne, not ignorant of the danger which threatened them, appeared before the Romans with the branches and fillets usually carried by suppliants, and endeavoured to move their compassion by embracing their knees and feet. This humiliation would probably have been ineffectual, if Valens had not bestowed three hundred sesterces upon each of the soldiers; after which gift they were more ready to listen to his arguments for the preservation of so great and ancient a colony. He himself is said to have been propitiated by a large bribe; and his sudden display of wealth, so inconsistent with his former circumstances, seemed to justify the suspicions

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which were entertained of his integrity. He continued his march to the Alps, converting warfare into a trade, and exacting money by the most disgraceful stipulations. So menacing was his conduct, that he prepared to set fire to the town of *Lucus Augusti** until he was appeased by gifts; and in other places, where there was not sufficient treasure to gratify his avarice, the inhabitants were compelled to purchase his mercy by the toleration of his unbridled lust.

Tac. Hist. l.
67.

Cæcina is said to have spilt more blood, and to have extorted more money, than even Valens. The Helvetians, being ignorant of the death of Galba, were not willing to acknowledge the authority of Vitellius, when his lieutenants marched into their country. Their indignation was roused by seeing themselves plundered of a sum of money, which was to pay one of their garrisons, and they retaliated upon the Romans by seizing a centurion and some of their soldiers, and intercepting the letters which were going to the Pannonian legions. Cæcina, who was eager to commence hostilities, and exclude all opportunity for reconciliation, immediately devastated their country, and sent messengers commanding the troops, that were in Rætia, to attack them in the rear. The Helvetians, whose forces were disorganized and fortifications decayed, were so terrified by the powerful enemies who assailed them on all sides, that they threw down their arms, and endeavoured to seek refuge in the mountains. But being pursued thither, through their forests and hiding-places, many thousands of them were slain, and many more were captured and sold. The Romans, after desolating all other places, marched against *Aventicum*†, the capital of the country, which was

* Le Luc.

† Aveuches.

surrendered to them without contest. Cæcina commanded that Julius Alpinus should be put to death, as being the chief instigator of the war, but submitted the fate of the remaining citizens to the decision of Vitellius himself. The Helvetians who were sent to implore the emperor's clemency were alarmed at first with angry menaces both from him and his army; but one of the deputies, named Claudius Cossus, exerted his eloquence so skilfully, that the soldiers were softened into commiseration, and by their importunity procured the pardon of the unfortunate Helvetians.

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Cæcina waited for a few days, until he had learnt the emperor's determination respecting his captives; and while he was preparing to pass the Alps, he received the joyful intelligence from Italy, that a body of cavalry, quartered near the Po, had sworn allegiance to Vitellius. These troops had served under Vitellius, when he was proconsul in Africa, and were now urged by their officers to prefer his authority to that of Otho, especially as it was supported by the powerful armies that were advancing from Germany. They not only acceded to this, but induced the inhabitants of Mediolanum*, and of other strong towns in the Transpadane country, to embrace the same cause. Cæcina, having sent forward some cohorts for their succour, led his main army over the Alps, before the mountains were yet cleared from the winter's snow.

Full information respecting the conduct of the Germanic armies was not divulged at Rome until after the death of Galba; but the citizens were encouraged to believe that only the legions of the Upper province had revolted. When the whole truth was announced, not only the senators and

Tac Hist. i.
50—71.

* Milan.

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knights, who were most concerned in the welfare of their country, but even the common people openly lamented, that such men as Otho and Vitellius, who were stigmatized for indolence and sensuality, should appear selected by fate for the destruction of the Roman Empire. They recalled to memory the capture of the city, the desolation of Italy, and the plundering of the provinces, which had so often occurred during the ancient civil wars; and they now expected a repetition of these miseries under two dissolute leaders, each of whom inspired such abhorrence, that the gods could not without impiety be supplicated for his success. Some fixed their thoughts and wishes upon Vespasian, who was to be preferred to Otho or Vitellius, but who could not wrest the empire from them without involving the Romans in all the calamities of civil warfare. While such were the gloomy anticipations of the citizens, Otho falsified their opinion of him, by deferring the indulgence of his pleasures, dissembling his luxurious habits, and arranging all the affairs of the empire with apparent gravity and wisdom. Marius Celsus, whom he had lately rescued from the fury of the soldiers, was summoned into the Capitol, and instead of being reproved for his fidelity to Galba, was enrolled in the number of Otho's friends, and afterwards appointed one of his generals in the war. He continued as faithful to him, as he had been to his former master, and with no better fortune. The clemency which he experienced from Otho, whether it proceeded from policy or real magnanimity, was applauded by all ranks of the people; nor was it displeasing to the soldiers, when they were calm enough to admire the inflexible virtue of Celsus.

The punishment of Sophonius Tigellinus gave equal satisfaction to the Romans. He had been born of humble parents, and, after spending his early days in a disgraceful manner, had been promoted for his vices to the office of prætorian præfect, in which his cruelty and avarice were exercised without restraint. Having impelled Nero to the perpetration of all kinds of wickedness, and having sometimes presumed to commit offences without his authority, he at last deserted him with the rest of his satellites and ministers. His conduct, therefore, had rendered him obnoxious to those who regretted the death of that prince, as well as to those who detested his memory. He had been sheltered under Galba by the influence of T. Vinus, who alleged that he had saved his daughter; which indeed was the fact, although Tigellinus had not been actuated by any generous motives of compassion, but by the selfish desire of securing to himself the protection of her father, in the political changes which were approaching. His own unpopularity was at last augmented by that of his patron Vinus; and the people, assembling in the forum, the circus, and the theatres, demanded with seditious cries the punishment of an offender, who had incurred their multiplied and inveterate odium. An order was dispatched to him at Sinuessa that he should put himself to death; and, after some timid delay, he cut his throat with a razor, dying as disgracefully as he had lived, amidst the caresses and embraces of his concubines.

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In the meantime, frequent letters passed between the two competitors for the imperial power. Otho, according to some accounts, offered to divide the empire with Vitellius, and to become his son-in-law; or at least he promised him possession of

Tac. Hist. i. 74.
Suet. vii.
(Otho) 8.

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wealth, favour and every luxury, if he would abdicate his authority. Vitellius, in return, made this latter proposal to Otho; and the two chiefs, after deluding one another for some time, ended their negotiations in mutual reproaches against the vices with which each was contaminated. Otho, having recalled the deputation which had proceeded from Galba, sent commissioners in his own name to the Germanic armies; but they remained, apparently without compulsion, in the camp of Vitellius. Some prætorian soldiers, who accompanied them, were sent back with letters from Fabius Valens, in which the guards and the city troops were urged by threats and by promises to forsake the cause of Otho; but the application was fruitless. Emissaries were employed by both Vitellius and Otho, to decide their contest by the assassination of one or the other, but they were not able to execute their treacherous designs. Vitellius also wrote to Titianus, the brother of Otho, assuring him that he should consider his life and that of his son as guarantees for the preservation of his own mother and children.

The confidence of Otho was greatly strengthened by information, that the legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia had sworn obedience to him. It was announced, that the troops in Spain had also acknowledged him; and, immediately afterwards, that they had joined the party of Vitellius. The same fluctuation occurred in Aquitania and Gallia Narbonensis, where, after the inhabitants had submitted to Otho, they were suddenly compelled to embrace the cause of his rival, who was nearer, and therefore more able to punish their resistance. The distant provinces, and those which were separated from Italy by the sea, adhered to Otho, because they had heard of his elevation before that

of Vitellius, and because he was acknowledged at Rome, and supported by the authority of the senate. The army in Judæa under Vespasian, and the Syrian legions under Mucianus, took the oath to him; Egypt also, and Carthage, with the other cities of Africa, proffered their submission.

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Otho assumed the consulship, in conjunction with his brother Titianus, until the first of March; and for the next two months he bestowed the office upon Verginius Rufus and Poppæus Vopiscus, the former of these two being promoted for the sake of conciliating the Germanic army, and the latter (as it was surmised) in order to gratify the people of Vienne. The consuls for the remainder of the year were allowed to stand according to the arrangements made by Nero and Galba. Otho endeavoured by a distribution of various honours, and privileges, to gain adherents to his cause both at Rome and in the provinces; and many of his acts were excused on account of the urgent difficulties and perils of his situation. But his passions seemed to gain a portion of their former ascendancy, when he procured a decree of the senate for replacing the statues of Poppæa. He is supposed, also, to have deliberated upon the expediency of honouring the memory of Nero, in order to win the favour of the more profligate citizens. The populace on some occasions saluted him with the appellation of that prince, exclaiming *Nero Otho*; and he fluctuated in his own mind between the fear of rejecting such a title, and the shame of assuming it.

CHAPTER II.

Irruption of the Roxolani into Mœsia, and their defeat by M. Aponius.—Sudden outbreak of the prætorian guards.—Terror and suspicion at Rome.—Otho arranges his plan of war, and departs from Rome.—His fleet makes a successful descent on Gallia Narbonensis.—Pacarius trying to raise the Corsicans in favour of Vitellius, is murdered by them.—Defence of Placentia by Spurrinna.—Otho's troops suspect and traduce their commanders.—Defeat of Cæcina by Celsus and Paullinus.—Valens nearly killed in a mutiny.—Is jealous of Cæcina.—Otho advised by Paullinus to prolong the war.—Resolves to hazard an engagement.—Retires to Brixellum.—Skirmish on the Po.—The Vitellians superior.—The Othonians encamp within four miles of Bebriacum.—Are completely defeated.—Truce between the contending armies.—Otho resolves to kill himself.—His motives for this step.—Provides for the safety of his friends.—Stabs himself.—His speedy burial.—Many soldiers commit self-destruction.—Otho's character, person, and effeminacy.

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Tac. Hist. i.
79.

WHILE the Romans were intent upon civil war, a Sarmatian people, named the Roxolani, made an irruption into Mœsia with nine thousand cavalry. They had in the preceding winter slaughtered two Roman cohorts, and were so elated by this success, that they now dispersed themselves over the country, as if they had come to gather booty, rather

than encounter enemies. The third legion, with some auxiliary troops, attacked them while they were straggling in confusion, and encumbered with spoil; and as the roads had become slippery by the melting of the ice and snow, the fleetness of their horses was of little advantage to them, so that they were massacred almost without resistance. No people (Tacitus observes) could be weaker in engagements on foot; but when their cavalry advanced in regular order, their attack was exceedingly formidable. They carried very long swords, which they wielded with both hands. Their princes and nobles were covered with a heavy armour, called a *cataphract*, which was composed of iron plates or very hard leather; but while it was impenetrable to blows, it was too cumbersome for general action, and the wearer of it could not easily rise, when he had been once thrown on the ground. The Romans, furnished with convenient arms, and arranged in good order, destroyed nearly the whole of the scattered barbarians; the few that escaped, concealed themselves in the marshes, where they perished by the severity of winter, or by the wounds which they had received. For this victory, M. Aponius, who was commander in *Moesia*, was rewarded with a triumphal statue, and two of his lieutenants with the consular honours. Otho was gratified at the success of the Roman troops, and claimed part of the glory resulting from their achievements.

In the mean time a sudden frenzy of the prætorian guards had nearly desolated Rome by the slaughter of its noblest citizens. One of their tribunes, named Varius Crispinus, having been commanded to provide arms for a cohort that was coming from Ostia, opened the arsenal

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and began to load the waggons at night, in order to perform his business with greater speed and tranquillity. This action, occurring at such a time, roused the suspicion of some of the soldiers, and they began to exclaim that there was treachery, and that the slaves of the senators were going to be armed for the murder of Otho. The specious rumour was quickly credited by those who were ignorant of the truth, or who were desirous of an opportunity of tumult and rapine, and were inflamed by the heat of wine. Having slain Crispinus and some of the centurions, they seized their arms, mounted themselves on horseback, and with drawn swords hastened to the palace of Otho. He was in the middle of an entertainment, which he had given to a large number of illustrious persons of both sexes; and the guests, not knowing whether to ascribe the fury of the soldiers to accident, or some revengeful design of the emperor, anxiously watched his looks, in order to discover whether it would be more prudent to flee or remain. The fear which was portrayed in his countenance, admitted of a doubtful interpretation; but he at once removed their suspicions by commanding them to depart without delay, and by sending the prætorian præfect to restrain the anger of the assailants. Dignified magistrates, old men, and feeble women, were compelled to flee in an ignominious manner from the table of their emperor, and, after escaping under the shades of darkness, to hide themselves in the obscurity of some humble retreat. The frantic soldiers demanded to see Otho, and, after wounding some of the officers who opposed their wishes, forced the doors of the palace, and rushed into his chamber. He addressed them

from his couch, and, after he had employed both tears and humiliating entreaties, they returned reluctantly to their camp.

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On the following day the houses of Rome were closed, and the streets deserted: the citizens appeared terrified and dejected, while the demeanour of the soldiers exhibited sullenness rather than contrition. They were harangued by their two præfects, and afterwards received a large donative in money, as if they had performed some meritorious service. Their anger being thus propitiated, Otho ventured into the camp, and delivered an oration, in which he commended their signal affection towards him, but advised them to temper it in future with more discreet moderation: he, also, exhorted them to observe the strictest order and discipline, although he himself had but lately been their instigator to open rebellion. As it was dangerous in his critical situation to punish many culprits, or to forgive all, he declared that his vengeance should fall upon two only; and, with this compromise between justice and lenity, the tumult in the prætorian camp ended. The minds, however, of the citizens continued to be agitated with suspicion and fear, especially as many of them believed that Vitellius had spies at Rome, who were secretly watching their sentiments and conduct. The senators, more than the other ranks, found it difficult to comport themselves in such a way, as neither to offend Otho by too much silence, nor too much freedom, or yet to offer him such adulation, as the discernment which he had gained in private life would teach him to despise.

As the Alps were occupied by his enemies, Otho determined to attack Gallia Narbonensis with his

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fleet, on board of which he placed some city cohorts and many of the prætorian guards. He himself intended to accompany the main army, which was to march against Cæcina and Valens, and selected for his generals Suetonius Paullinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus. The vigour and prudence of these commanders were frustrated by the ignorance of the prætorian præfect, Licinius Proculus, in whom Otho reposed his chief confidence; for, though he was inexperienced in war, yet he gained an ascendancy over the emperor by artfully depreciating their excellences. Many of the magistrates, and persons of consular rank, and even L. Vitellius, the brother of the emperor, were commanded to accompany Otho in his expedition. He did not require their services in war, but probably he considered that, by making them part of his retinue, he should prevent them from forming any confederacy against him during his absence from the capital. The din of war, and the preparation of armies, created greater confusion and agitation at Rome, than the inhabitants had experienced during the last century. For since the battle of Actium they had scarcely witnessed the immediate presence of civil discord, nor had been much afflicted with the pressure of foreign hostilities; so that most of the senators and nobles were unacquainted with arms, and had resigned themselves to the indolent pleasures of peace. But now fleets were equipped, legions put in motion, and even the guards, and the troops constantly quartered in the city, were called into action. The most powerful armies from the East and West were ready to come into collision, and if the abilities of the chiefs had been equal to the magnitude of their forces, the contest would have been

long and sanguinary. Otho, stimulated by the intelligence that Cæcina had passed the Alps, was impatient to leave the city, and, on the 14th of March, addressed the Romans in a modest harangue, complaining of the ignorance of the disaffected legions, rather than their audacity, and forbearing to make any mention of Vitellius. It is uncertain whether this moderation arose from his own good sense, or from the fears of Galerius Trachalus, the orator who composed his speech. At his departure, he entrusted the care of the city to his brother Titianus. It was noticed that there were many omens and prodigies, which portended ill success to his expedition; but the only real cause of alarm was a sudden and violent inundation of the Tiber.

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The troops, which Otho had embarked on board his fleet, made a descent upon the inhabitants of the Maritime Alps, whom they found quite unprepared for such an aggression, and whose rude forces they routed at the first onset. As there was little booty to be gained by pursuing the mountaineers, they turned their arms against the free town of Albium Intermelium, and there gratified their thirst for pillage. The fury of disappointed avarice was here wreaked upon a Ligurian woman, who had concealed her son, and who was suspected of having concealed her money in the same place; but although they inflicted torture upon her, and at last put her to death, the undaunted mother would not disclose the retreat of her son, nor confess any thing more than that he was safely hid.

Fabius Valens, being informed that the fleet of Otho threatened the province of Gallia Narbonensis, detached a body of Gallic auxiliaries to succour those who had taken the oath to Vitellius. The hostile

Tac. Hist. ii.
12, 13.

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forces having come to an engagement, the Vitellians were surrounded, and would have been utterly destroyed if the approach of night had not saved them. They soon rallied, however, and were again defeated, although not without considerable loss on the side of their adversaries. After these trials of their strength they retreated to Antipolis, while the armament of Otho returned to Albingaunum in Liguria.

Corsica, Sardinia, and the neighbouring islands were kept in submission to Otho by the superiority of his fleet. Pacarius, however, the procurator of Corsica, rashly attempted to persuade the inhabitants to declare for Vitellius, and put to death two of the most eminent persons who opposed his design. As he proceeded with his petty preparations for war, the dissatisfied islanders began to reflect how impossible it would be for them to resist the fleet which was hovering upon their coasts, and against which the Germanic armies could afford them no protection. Having formed a plot, therefore, against Pacarius, they murdered him and his companions, while they were in the bath, and sent their heads to Otho; but he failed to reward their zeal, and Vitellius afterwards forgot to punish it.

Tac. Hist. ii.
11—17, &c.

Otho was gratified with the intelligence, that the troops of Dalmatia and Pannonia, consisting of four legions, had obeyed his commands, and were marching to his assistance. But in the meantime all the cities and country between the Alps and the Po were in the possession of his adversaries; and he therefore dispatched some prætorian and other troops, under the command of Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna, to the banks of that river, where the grand scene of action was to

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open. Spurrinna, having occupied the town of Placentia, resolved to defend himself within its walls, as he did not consider that the few cohorts which he commanded would be able to resist the veteran army of Cæcina in the open country. But the disorderly prætorians, ignorant of war and confident in their own strength, condemned the prudence in their leader as treachery, and desired to advance against the enemy. As he was unable to resist their demand, he appeared to acquiesce in it with cheerfulness; and in the evening, when they came in sight of the Po, and had to entrench their camp, they were disheartened with duties to which they were unused, and began to repent of the temerity which had led them into unexpected difficulties. Spurrinna, gently convincing them of the error which they had committed, led them back to Placentia, with minds more humble and submissive to his authority. He ordered the walls of the town to be repaired, the fortifications enlarged, and every preparation made to sustain the assaults which he expected.

As soon as Cæcina entered Italy, he abstained from the cruelty and rapine which he had before exercised, but offended the pride of the inhabitants by his gay and barbarous attire, and by the pomp with which his wife was escorted. Having crossed the Po, and assayed in vain to corrupt the fidelity of Otho's partisans, he determined to begin the assault upon Placentia. His operations on the first day were conducted with more impetuosity than skill; for his men, surfeited with food and wine, advanced incautiously to the walls, and were repulsed with much bloodshed. During the attack a magnificent amphitheatre, which was situated without the walls, was burnt; and it is not certain

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whether the accident was caused by the fiery implements of the besiegers or the besieged. The populace of the town attributed the misfortune to the treachery of some of the neighbouring colonies, whom they supposed to be envious of a building, which was the most capacious in Italy. The night was employed by both the Vitellians and their foes in preparing for another conflict, which commenced early the next day. The Germans, who came to the attack singing wild songs, and shaking their bucklers over their shoulders, but with their bodies naked, were easily slain by the well directed lances that descended from the walls. The Roman soldiers, though better protected by their arms and by the engines under which they worked, were overwhelmed by the huge stones which the prætorians rolled upon them, or fell transfixed by their darts. Cæcina, after witnessing with shame the slaughter and trepidation of his troops, broke up his camp, and, recrossing the Po, fled to Cremona.

Annius Gallus, who was marching with the first legion to the relief of Placentia, was informed by letters of the fruitless assaults, and the disgraceful retreat of Cæcina. He halted, therefore, at Bebriacum*, a small town between Verona and Cremona, although his troops were so eager for engagement, that they mutinied at the delay. About the same time Martius Macer, having the command of two thousand gladiators that were in the pay of Otho, conveyed them over the Po, and routed the auxiliaries of Cæcina, compelling the rest of his forces to retire into Cremona; but he thought it prudent to check the ardour of his men,

* The name of this town, which was signalized this year by two important battles, is spelt in various ways.

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lest by pursuing the enemy too far they should change their victory into a defeat. This discretion gave them offence, as both they and the other troops of Otho viewed the conduct of their generals with suspicion, and misrepresented it with perverse malignity. Suetonius Paullinus and the rest of the commanders were attacked by the open complaints of their turbulent soldiers, or by letters which they secretly conveyed to Otho, who was too much disposed to listen to their calumnious fictions. He had done nothing to merit the confidence of the good, and was now justly punished by those tumultuous passions, which for his own interest he had fomented in the bosoms of the wicked. Harassed by doubt and suspicion, he sent for his brother Titianus, and gave him the chief command in the war, which Paullinus and his colleagues were conducting with great ability, and which, by their own free counsels, they would probably have brought to a successful termination.

Cæcina, mortified by the defeats which he had received, and anxious to repair them before the arrival of Valens, laid an ambush, at a place called Castor's Temple, about twelve miles from Cremona, hoping that he should ensnare his enemies into it by feigning a retreat. The stratagem was betrayed to the generals of Otho, who prepared themselves not only to frustrate it, but to turn it to the injury of the contriver. Marius Celsus, who took the command of the cavalry, did not pursue the Vitellians when they gave ground, but by gradually retreating himself, enticed them into a position where they were in danger of being surrounded. But Suetonius Paullinus, who did not immediately lead on his infantry, gave them an opportunity of partly retrieving their error: as soon, however, as

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he advanced, they were routed on all sides, and, according to an opinion prevalent in both armies, would have been utterly destroyed, if he had not recalled his men too quickly. His caution, for which he was chiefly distinguished, would not allow him to expose his weary troops to the attacks of the enemy issuing fresh from their camp, while he had no subsidiary force behind. His conduct, although it was approved by a few, exposed him in general to the censure of the Romans.

Tac. Hist. II.
27, &c.

While Cæcina was thus unsuccessful in the first operations of the war, Fabius Valens had nearly lost his life during a violent mutiny, which had arisen in his camp. He had been so provoked by the insolent spirit of the Batavian cohorts, that he commanded part of them to be sent into Gallia Narbonensis. But as they were admired for their valour, the whole army resisted the separation of such auxiliaries; and when Valens attempted to pacify their clamours, they attacked him with stones, and would have killed him, if he had not concealed himself in the disguise of a slave. The tumult was afterwards composed by the prudence of Alphenus Varus, the præfect of the camp, and as soon as Valens reappeared, the fickle soldiers hailed him not only with surprise, but with the warmest testimonies of congratulation and favour. When they arrived at Ticinum, they were informed of the defeat which had taken place at Castor's Temple, and began to renew their discontent as if they had been detained from the battle by the treacherous delay of their commander. The troops of Cæcina, with a view of excusing their late ill fortune, complained that they alone had been obliged to sustain the undivided attacks of the enemy, although they composed the weaker army, and amounted to not much

more than half the forces of Valens. A jealous emulation, also, had arisen between the two chiefs, and caused a mutual effusion of invective and ridicule, Cæcina complaining of the foul crimes which stained the character of Valens, who in turn derided the vain and pompous demeanour of his rival. But Cæcina, although at the head of the smaller army, was far more popular with the soldiers than Valens, on account of his greater benignity, and his more youthful and engaging exterior. Amidst their contentions, however, the two commanders did not lose sight of the common cause in which they were interested, and having combined their forces, resolved to encounter the enemy without delay.

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Otho held a consultation with his generals, whether it would be more prudent to prolong the war, or to hazard a battle immediately. Suetonius Paullinus, who in military science was not surpassed by any of his contemporaries, alleged the reasons which urged him to advocate delay. The forces of Vitellius (he stated) had nearly all arrived, and, being inclosed by the Alps, had no means of obtaining provisions except from the Transpadane country, which they had already devastated. The Germans, also, who were the fiercest troops in his army, could not long endure the change of climate, but would be destroyed by the heat of summer. Otho, on the other hand, had in reserve the entire armies of Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia, and the East; his cause was espoused in Italy and at Rome, and dignified by the authority of the senate; he had ample supplies of money, troops inured to the climate of Italy, and fortified cities defended by the barrier of the Po: in a few days the forces from Moesia would arrive, and if he desired to engage

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the enemy, he might then meet them with an increased probability of success.

These prudent representations of Paullinus were seconded by Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus; but Otho himself was eager for battle, and his brother, Titianus, and the prætorian præfect, Proculus, encouraged his precipitation by senseless flattery. When an engagement was resolved upon, the generals deliberated whether or not Otho ought to be present at it; and as the worst counsellors had the greatest influence, they persuaded him to retire from the scene of danger, and station himself on the opposite side of the Po, at Brixellum. Nothing could be more injurious to his cause than this impolitic resolution. The departure of a large body of prætorian cohorts and cavalry, who formed the escort of the emperor, weakened and discouraged the remaining troops; while the generals, distrusted by their soldiers, and at variance among themselves, exhibited the most deplorable weakness and confusion in all their operations. The chief command was nominally held by Titianus, but all the actual power and authority were in the hands of the ignorant Proculus. Celsus and Paullinus retained nothing but the empty name of generals, and were obliged to concur in the execution of plans which their prudence condemned.

It is recorded by some ancient authors, that the armies of Otho and Vitellius, averse to civil bloodshed, and disgusted by the flagitious character of the princes for whom they were contending, had begun to deliberate whether they should not terminate the war by their mutual agreement, and either appoint an emperor themselves, or allow the senate to choose one. But a plan of so much moderation and concord at such a time appears

exceedingly improbable, and is totally discredited by Tacitus, on account of the opposite characters and conflicting interests of the several commanders, and the furious passions of the soldiers stimulating them to anarchy and war. A desire of peace was probably cherished by many individuals in each army, but an avowal of it at the present moment would have been an act of temerity. Cæcina and Valens, being apprised of the discord which embarrassed the plans of their enemies, were ready to avail themselves of any advantage that might be gained from their imprudence. Having commenced a bridge, they feigned an attempt to pass the Po, and got prior possession of an island which was in the middle of the river, by the celerity of their German troops, who swam thither. The gladiators under the command of Macer, being ordered to dislodge them, were repulsed, and their boats sunk; and as this defeat happened in the sight of the two armies, the soldiers of Otho were so exasperated at the unfortunate Macer, that they attacked him with their swords, until he was protected by the interference of the tribunes and centurions. He was superseded in his command by Flavius Sabinus, consul elect; and while the soldiers rejoiced at the change of their generals, the generals themselves considered it little honour to lead troops, who were constantly rebelling against their authority.

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After the skirmish on the Po, the Othonian army marched to a position within four miles from Bedriacum, where they suffered from a scarcity of water, although it was the season of spring, and the country abounded with rivers. Letters were received from Otho, urging his generals to hasten an engagement, while the soldiers on their part

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demanding, that the emperor should be present at it, or that at least the troops on the other side of the Po should share the danger. Titianus and Proculus, incapable of devising any prudent plan, resolved to conduct their troops to the confluence of the Po and the Addua, which was at a distance of about sixteen miles. Both Celsus and Paullinus protested against the impolicy of exposing a weary and encumbered army to the assaults of the enemy; but they were overruled by the superior authority of the other commanders, and by the arrival of dispatches from Otho, who was indignant at delay, and impatient that the war should be brought to a crisis.

As his rash impetuosity was to be gratified, his troops marched against the enemy, who but little expected their approach. The cavalry of the Vitellians, which first sallied from the camp, were driven back by the valour of the Italic legion; but their infantry in the mean time prepared themselves for action without trepidation or confusion. The Othonian army, on the contrary, was in complete disorder, being confined in a narrow road with deep ditches on each side, and obstructed by their own waggons and baggage. Their ignorant generals were seized with fear; the soldiers murmured at their generals, and distracted one another with confused vociferations, while each, according to the degree of his valour, rushed to the front or retreated to the rear of the line. In the midst of their hasty preparations for battle, a report was spread, that the troops of Vitellius had revolted from him; and it was never ascertained whether it originated in mistake, artifice, or treachery. The Othonians, rashly crediting it, began to greet the enemy with friendly salutations, which were returned by a vigorous attack. Although they

were weary, disordered, and inferior in numbers, yet they sustained the onset of the Vitellians with great courage, and fought as if the issue of the war depended upon their efforts. The battle was of a multifarious nature: in the road they engaged man to man amidst general confusion; but in an open plain between the road and the Po, two legions encountered each other, and the Vitellians lost their eagle. As Cæcina and Valens brought up their reserve, the Othonians were attacked and routed on all sides. Many continued their flight as far as Bebriacum, the roads to which were strewed with dead bodies, the carnage being so much the greater, as the Romans did not make prisoners of their antagonists in the civil wars. Those who fled to the camp assailed their officers with violent reproaches, declaring, that they were not conquered, but betrayed; and their fury was with great difficulty composed by the entreaties and authority of Annius Gallius. Suetonius and Proculus took different roads, but both avoided the camp; Titianus and Celsus entered it at night, after the tumult was allayed.

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The Vitellians stopped their pursuit about five miles from Bebriacum, and one mile from the camp of their adversaries, which they did not venture to attack on that day, especially as they expected that a voluntary surrender would soon be made. The soldiers of Otho, even those who had pretended to the greatest share of valour, began to waver in their resolution on the following day, and sent a deputation with proposals of peace, which were not rejected by the Vitellian leaders. The camp being thrown open, the conquerors and conquered mingled their tears together, and amidst various emotions of grief and joy, disappointment

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and exultation, lamented the civil discord which had stained their hands with the blood of each other. The miseries of such a warfare were certain, and before their eyes: the advantages were uncertain and distant. Encamped under the same tents, they beheld the sick and wounded frames of their brothers and other relatives, and there were few who did not grieve for the death of some of those, against whom they had lately drawn their swords. Such was the event of the battle which was named from the town of Bebriacum, although it must have been fought at a considerable distance from it. It took place about the fourteenth of April; and in this and the preceding engagements near Cremona, there were forty thousand men slain in the two armies, according to the computation of Dion.

Dion. lxiv.

Tac. Hist. ii.
 46.
 Suet. vii.
 (Otho) 9.

Otho was waiting at Brixillum to learn the result of his own precipitate orders, and, as soon as he was informed of the defeat of his troops, resolved to finish the war by a voluntary death. The forces which he had on each side of the Po were sufficient, under able leaders, to resist the present attacks of the Vitellians: legions from Moesia had already arrived at Aquileia, and still greater succours were coming from other countries. There was nothing formidable in the state of his affairs, except the inclination for peace which had manifested itself in the camp near Bebriacum; the warlike ardour of the soldiers, however, might have soon revived; and it is impossible, therefore, not to accuse Otho of great timidity and irresolution, if he really despaired of a successful issue to the war. His mind, weakened by long habits of luxury and effeminacy, was probably unable to sustain the dangers and anxieties of a tedious

contest; and when he found that the imperial condition was to be one of struggle, rather than of enjoyment, he may have been willing to escape from it by such a death as would appear to the Romans patriotic and glorious. But the ancient historians ascribe to him the most sincere and magnanimous sentiments; and as, amidst the various motives which may have produced any given action, it is impossible to discover the exact force of each, we are bound to admit their testimony, and pay deference to their opinions. The following is the account of Suetonius, the biographer of the twelve Cæsars. His father Lenis, who served in the war, and had the command of a legion, was accustomed to relate, that Otho, when a private man, had such a detestation of civil war, that he shuddered at the recital of the deaths of Brutus and Cassius, and that he would never have killed Galba, if he had supposed an appeal to arms would have been necessary; that a common soldier, who came to announce the defeat at Bebriacum, being reviled as a liar and a runaway, instead of being believed, fell on his sword before the emperor's face; and that Otho, struck with his fearless contempt of death, hereupon declared he would no longer endanger the safety of so many brave and meritorious men.

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Whatever were the motives which actuated him, nothing could induce him to change his purpose of destroying himself. The entreaties of his friends, and the ardour of the soldiers protesting that they were ready to die in his cause, could not bend him; but, with a calm look and intrepid demeanour, he advised them to depart as soon as possible, and not to provoke the resentment of the conqueror by remaining with him. He took an affectionate

Tac. Hist. ii.
48, 49.
Suet. vii.
(Otho) 11.

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leave of his brother, nephew, and friends, and wrote letters of consolation to his sister, and to Messalina, the widow of Nero, whom he had intended to marry. He distributed money to his domestics, and burned all the letters and documents that might prove dangerous to his adherents, if they came into the hands of Vitellius. Having made these arrangements, he reposed himself for a short time, but was disturbed by a sudden tumult of the soldiers, who had seized the persons that were departing, and threatened to kill them as deserters, especially Verginius, whom they blockaded in his house. Otho, apprising them of their mistake, commanded them to abstain from all violence, and, in order to give greater protection to his friends, declared, "We will add one more night to our life." He kept his chamber open for all who wished to have access to him, and towards evening, having quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, took a couple of daggers, whose points he tried, and placed one of them under his pillow. When he had ascertained that his friends had departed, his doors were closed, and he passed the night not only with calmness but, according to some accounts, in a most sound sleep. At day-break he stabbed himself under the left breast; and his attendants, upon hearing his groans, rushed into his chamber, and found that the single wound which he had given himself was fatal. His funeral was performed immediately, according to his own strict injunctions; for, like Nero, he was exceedingly anxious that his head should not be cut off and made an object of insult. The prætorian soldiers, who carried his body, kissed his hands and feet, and even his wound, and with many tears lamented him as a most brave man and excellent

emperor. Some of them, as a proof of their devoted affection, slew themselves near his funeral pile; and many of the troops at Bebricum, Placentia, and other places, killed one another in voluntary combat, as soon as they were apprised of his death. A moderate sepulchre was raised to him at Brixillum, without any inscription but his mere name. Vitellius suffered this to stand, and also spared the relatives of Otho, as his own had been treated with clemency.

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He killed himself on the fifteenth of April, or soon afterwards, having possessed the imperial name, amidst tumults and warfare, for a period of about ninety days. The murder of Galba, and his own destruction of himself, are the two most remarkable events in his history; and Tacitus thinks that he deserved as much glory for the one, as infamy for the other. In this opinion, however, we cannot concur, because his rebellion and murder were manifest and atrocious crimes, while his own death was at best an act of questionable virtue. If he really desired to rescue his country from civil warfare, his magnanimity would entitle him to very high commendation, could we forget how wantonly he had involved it in that calamity; but to those, who are aware of the many intricacies of the human heart, there will always remain some doubt respecting the motives which urged him to sacrifice his own life. He appears to have possessed some of the elements of greatness in his character, as he knew how to govern with considerable moderation and skill, and was able to meet death with fortitude and calmness, if not with all that patriotic devotion for which he hoped to be immortalized. If he had been raised to the imperial power in a just and peaceable manner, it

Tac. Hist. ii.
50, 51.

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is probable that all the vices of his youth would have been rekindled by the indulgences of prosperity. As he gained it by violence and insurrection, he was doomed to experience the fate of most usurpers, the agents and abettors of his crimes being made the instruments of his vexation and punishment. During his life the Romans in general were more afraid of his fierce passions, than the indolent vices of his rival; for Vitellius was considered as a mere voluptuary, governed by the will of the soldiers, but Otho was dreaded as possessing in himself the qualities of a wild and sanguinary ruler. After his death, which was so contradictory to the evil opinions which had been formed of him, men began to extol him with the warmest praise, and even to allege that he had destroyed Galba, not so much from private ambition, as for the sake of restoring the ancient liberty of the Romans. But the decisions of the vulgar generally issue in indiscriminate censure or immoderate panegyric.

Suet. vii.
 (Otho) 11.
 Tac. Hist. ii.
 11.

Otho is described as being of moderate stature, with awkward feet and bow legs. He was effeminate in his dress, and elaborately studious of his person; for the hairs were carefully extracted from his body, a well-contrived peruke concealed his baldness, and he shaved himself every day, covering his face with soaked bread, in order that he might not be disfigured with a beard. Tacitus relates, that, when he led his army from Rome, he marched on foot in front of his troops, wearing an iron cuirass, and abstaining from all the luxury and softness which were congenial to his character. Perhaps he relaxed into greater delicacy afterwards, for we find the satirist Juvenal inveighing against his effeminate habits, and considering it a

most portentous offence, that a *mirror* composed part of his baggage in the civil war!* It seems that luxury in general must be estimated by a reference to the manners of the age in which it is practised; for at the present day we should scarcely consider it a subject of reprehension in a leader of the most uncivilized hordes, that he either shaved himself every day, or carried a looking-glass as part of the furniture of his tent.

ΟΤΗΟ,
1.
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* Res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
Historiâ, *speculum* civilis sarcina belli.—Sat. ii. 102.

THE EMPEROR VITELLIUS.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestors of Vitellius.—His character and pursuits before his elevation to the purple.—Submission of Otho's troops.—Danger of the senators at Mutina.—Vitellius acknowledged Emperor at Rome.—Informed, while in Gaul, of the victory of his forces.—Arrives at Lyons.—Pardons the generals of Otho.—Puts several centurions to death.—Mariccus killed.—Luxury of Vitellius.—Roman knights forbidden to engage in gladiatorial combats.—Astrologers banished from Italy.—Death of C. Dolabella.—Vitellius bestows great favour on Cluvius Rufus.—Disperses the soldiers of Otho.—His own troops rise and demand the death of Verginius Rufus.—His cruel levity on beholding the carnage on the plains of Bebricum.—Enters Rome.—Assumes the titles of Augustus and Perpetual Consul.—Courts the populace.—The authority of Cæcina and Valens.—Licentious conduct of the soldiers.—Public sacrifices to the Manes of Nero.—Gluttony and cruelty of Vitellius.

AULUS Vitellius, who, by the death of Otho, had come into undisputed possession of the empire, was descended from ancestors, that, according to some accounts, were among the early patricians

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Suet. vii.
(Vitell.) 1, &c.

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of Rome, and could trace their lineage to Faunus, King of the Aborigines, and to Vitellia, who in many parts of Italy was worshipped as a goddess. But it was more generally believed, that his family owed its origin to a freedman, who is related by some authors to have had no higher occupation, than that of a cobbler. What is certain is, that his grandfather P. Vitellius, who came from Nuceria, was a Roman knight, and one of the procurators of Augustus. His father Lucius, after obtaining the consulship, was appointed governor of Syria, and was successful in the war against Artabanus, the king of Parthia. He enjoyed very high favour under Caius and Claudius, but disgraced himself by the most abject and impious flattery, as we have already related in the lives of those emperors. His adulation was prostituted not only to the princes themselves, but also to their wives and freedmen; for he constantly carried the shoe of Messalina between his toga and tunic, occasionally honouring it with his kisses, and placed the golden images of Narcissus and Pallas among those of his household gods. He was three times consul, and once censor, and saw his sons Aulus and Lucius succeed one another in the consulship during the same year.

Aulus was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, when he was raised so strangely and so unworthily to the sovereign power. He had spent his boyhood and his early youth with Tiberius, amidst the impure scenes and detestable pleasures of the island of Capreæ. He ingratiated himself with the emperor Caius by his love of chariot-driving, and with Claudius by his fondness for gambling; and these two propensities won him the favour of Nero, which he secured by flattering him in his desire of

playing publicly upon the harp. After enjoying various honours he received the proconsulate of Africa, in which office he observed a strict integrity, that was little to be expected from his previous mode of life. But in a superintendence of the public works, with which he was entrusted, at Rome, he is said to have stolen the ornaments and dedications of the temples, and for gold and silver to have substituted the less valuable metals. He married Petronia, the daughter of a person of consular rank, and by her had a son blind of one eye, whom it was believed that he insidiously murdered. His second wife was Galeria Fundana, by whom he had children of both sexes, and a son who was nearly dumb. He used to be despised for his disgusting gluttony ; but the very contempt which was entertained for him was the cause of his elevation, as Galba gave him the command in Lower Germany, because he appeared too mean to excite his jealousy. When he received the appointment, he had not money to defray the expenses of his journey, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped from a crowd of importunate creditors. It is said, that astrologers had drawn such unfavourable predictions from his nativity, that his father was always anxious to debar him from the government of any province ; and as soon as his mother heard that he was sent to the Germanic legions and proclaimed emperor, she lamented his fate and considered him inevitably ruined. Her name was Sextilia ; and, as she was a woman of high character, her penetration probably discovered, that her son had attained a dangerous eminence, for which he was totally unqualified both in ability and virtue.

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The troops that were at Brixellum, mourning

VITELLIUS, for the death of Otho, were unwilling at first to submit to the arms of his victorious rival. They besought Verginius Rufus, who then held the office of consul, to accept the imperial dignity, which he had declined several times before, or at least to become their ambassador to Cæcina and Valens. As their petition was accompanied with threats, he escaped from their violence by the back door of his house, and they appointed Rubrius Gallus to carry their submission to the conquerors. Pardon was immediately granted to them and the rest of the Othonians, and hostilities ceased on both sides. But the senators, who had accompanied Otho from Rome, and had been left by him at Mutina, were placed in a state of great perplexity and danger. When the rumour of the defeat at Bebriacum arrived, the soldiers rejected it as false, and, imagining that the senators were hostile to Otho, suspiciously watched their looks and conduct, and endeavoured by reproaches and insults to create some pretext for putting them to the sword. The unfortunate fathers, bewildered between the dread of military violence, and the fear of appearing reluctant to acknowledge the authority of the conqueror, removed themselves to Bononia, in order to gain time for maturer counsel, and more exact information. In that town they learned from a freedman of Otho, that he had left his master fully resolved and prepared to die; and this intelligence disposed them all to offer their allegiance to Vitellius. They were just beginning to pay their adulation to his brother L. Vitellius, who was then present with them, when Cænus, a freedman of Nero, assured them that the state of affairs had changed, and that the Vitellians had been defeated, in the midst

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Tac. Hist. ii.
51, &c.

of their triumph, by an attack of the fourteenth legion. This was an audacious falsehood, invented for the sake of some petty advantage; but it produced fresh consternation among the senators, until at last their fears were dispelled by letters which came from Valens, and by authentic information of the death of Otho. Cænus was immediately sent to Rome, and soon afterwards punished by order of Vitellius.

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The citizens of Rome heard of the revolution of affairs without any alarm, and calmly occupied themselves in the amusements of the games of Ceres. When it was announced in the theatre that Otho was dead, and that the troops in the city had taken the oath to Vitellius, under the direction of the præfect, Flavius Sabinus, cheers were given in honour of the new emperor, the fickle populace carried the images of Galba around the temples, and heaped up crowns near the Curtian Lake, where he had been killed. In the senate all the honours and titles, which had been given to former emperors, were immediately decreed to Vitellius: thanks were also voted, and a deputation sent, to the Germanic armies. But although peace was established, the inhabitants of Italy suffered all the atrocities of war from the licentiousness of the Vitellians, who made the towns, through which they were dispersed, the scenes of the most unrestrained rapacity and lust. The soldiers, aided by their knowledge of the country, selected the richest places and persons for plunder; while the generals, Cæcina and Valens, possessed but weak authority over them, and were obliged to connive at excesses, of which they themselves had set the example.

Vitellius, having entrusted the defence of the

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Suet. vii.
(Vitell.) 12.

Rhine to Hordeonius Flaccus, departed from Cologne with all the troops he could collect, and had not marched many days, when he was informed of the victory at Bebricum, and the termination of the war by the death of Otho. He mustered his soldiers, and addressed them in a panegyric harangue: upon which they besought him to elevate his freedman Asiaticus to the equestrian order, according to the example of former emperors. He at first rejected the proposal; but on the same day at supper he bestowed the gold ring upon Asiaticus, whose low and disgusting vices would have justly excluded him from such an honour.

About the same time he learnt that the two provinces of Mauritania had submitted to him, and that the procurator, Læcius Albinus, who had favoured the party of Otho, was slain. He exhibited no curiosity to be acquainted with the events; as his mind, unfit for serious occupations, never bestowed more than a brief attention upon the most important subjects. Having commanded his army to proceed by land, he himself was carried down the Arar* in a very humble manner, being compelled by his poverty to forego the splendour suitable to his rank. Junius Blæsus, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, and a man of great wealth and liberality, surrounded him with a more becoming retinue; but although Vitellius acknowledged the favour with servile courtesy, he was irritated by it rather than pleased. On his arrival at Lyons he presented his infant son to the whole army, bestowed upon him the name of Germanicus, and invested him with all the ornaments of princely dignity. He was met by his own victorious generals, Cæcina and Valens, whom he rewarded with public

* The Saône.

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marks of honour, and by the leaders of the conquered army of Otho. Suetonius Paullinus, and Licinius Proculus, after being kept for some time in disquietude and suspense, were permitted to defend their conduct; and the excuse to which they resorted was more creditable to their ingenuity, than to their honour. They declared, that they had been guilty of treachery towards Otho in the battle of Bebriacum; and certainly the ignorance and rashness, with which the engagement was fought, were sufficient to give credibility to their assertion. Vitellius, believing, or pretending to believe, their alleged perfidy, pardoned the fidelity which they had shown towards his rival. Titianus was forgiven, as he had no qualities to make him formidable, and had naturally supported the cause of his brother; and Marius Celsus was not even deprived of the consulship, to which he had been elected. The clemency shown to the leaders was not extended to the subordinate officers of the hostile army; for the most active centurions were killed, and by their deaths the affections of many of the soldiers were alienated from Vitellius. But no further vengeance was exercised upon his adversaries, neither did he confiscate their property, nor annul the wills of those who had fallen in battle against him.

An impious fanatic, named Mariccus, chose the unfavourable time, while Vitellius was at Lyons, to excite an insurrection, and defy the Roman authority. Not satisfied with the title of liberator of Gaul, he also assumed that of a god, and, having attached to himself about eight thousand men, endeavoured to gain followers among the neighbouring people of the Ædui. These, however, attacked him with their native troops, assisted by some

VITELLIUS, cohorts of Vitellius, and routed his deluded host. ^{1.} Mariccus, being taken alive, was exposed to wild beasts; and because he was not devoured by them, the superstitious multitude believed that he was invulnerable; but he was afterwards slain in the presence of the emperor.

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Vitellius, to whom the imperial power offered the gratification of his inordinate gluttony, filled every place with tumultuous preparations for his expensive feasts. Delicacies were procured from Rome and all parts of Italy: like Xerxes*, he impoverished the cities where he was entertained; and the soldiers, despising their emperor, while they partook of his pleasures, became averse to all discipline and labour. He sent before him an edict to Rome, announcing that he should not accept the name of Cæsar, and that he declined for the present the title of Augustus. He prohibited the Roman knights, under severe penalties, from fighting in the character of gladiators, or combating wild beasts in the amphitheatres. They had been bribed by former princes, and frequently compelled, to appear in such exhibitions; and many of the free towns and colonies had enticed their youth to follow so disgraceful an example. Vitellius also commanded the astrologers to depart from Italy by the first of October; and they in retaliation published a placard, declaring, that Vitellius Germanicus would by that time be no more. This insult so provoked him, that whenever any of them were apprehended, he put them to death without hearing their defence. Dion gives the story a miraculous

Suet. vii.
(Vitall.) 14.
Dion. lxx.

* See Herodotus vii. 118. Megacreon of Abdera told his countrymen that they ought to be very thankful that Xerxes did not take two meals with them instead of one; for had he, they would certainly have been ruined.

character, by alleging that the emperor actually died within the period specified by his astrological foes; but the account which we have extracted from Suetonius is far more credible.

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Vitellius, impelled by his brother and other evil counsellors, gave the first instance of his tyranny by commanding Cornelius Dolabella to be put to death. He was a man of ancient family, and related to Galba: for which reasons Otho, before he left Rome, had banished him to the town of Aquinum. Dolabella, as soon as he heard of the death of that prince, returned to Rome, and was accused by one of his treacherous friends of intending to place himself at the head of the Othonians. This serious charge was not substantiated by any proof, and might have been dismissed by Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city (who was of a merciful disposition), if he had not been terrified by the representations of Triaria, the wife of L. Vitellius. She, with a ferocious spirit unbecoming her sex, urged him not to affect a character for clemency at the hazard of his prince; and he, therefore, sent an unfavourable account to the emperor, through a weak dread of appearing to defend the culprit. Vitellius, who both feared and hated Dolabella, because he had married his former wife Petronia, sent letters commanding him to appear before him, but gave secret instructions that he should be conducted from the main road, and murdered at Interamnium. The assassin, who was to commit the crime, considered such delay as too tedious, and therefore killed him before he arrived there.

Tac. Hist. i.
88; ii. 63—65.

M. Cluvius Rufus, governor of Spain, was accused of aspiring to the sovereignty by Hilarius, the freedman of the emperor. In order to excu-

VITELLIUS, ^{1.}
 { A. D. 69. } pate himself more effectually, he left his province, and overtook Vitellius after his departure from Lyons. He had sufficient influence to procure the punishment of his accuser, and was allowed the unusual privilege of accompanying the emperor, without being deprived of the government of his province. Trebellius Maximus, who had fled from Britain on account of the seditious violence of the soldiers, was superseded in his command by Vettius Bolanus.

Tac. Hist. ii.
 68.
 Suet. vii.
 (Vitell.) 10.

Vitellius could not observe without alarm the disposition of the Othonian legions, who were dispersed throughout Italy, and continued to breathe an angry and hostile spirit against their conquerors. The fourteenth, whose men were of a most ferocious temper, and maintained that they were not conquered at Bebricum, because the main part of them did not come into action, was ordered to return to Britain, whence Nero had summoned it; and on its march thither, it burned part of the colony of Turin, and displayed a refractory spirit in Gaul. The prætorian cohorts, also, were a formidable band. Suetonius relates, that Vitellius, as soon as he heard of the victory, disbanded them all by a single edict, and commanded them to surrender their arms; but Tacitus says, that they were first separated, and afterwards received an honourable discharge. The marine legion, that had been so zealous for Otho, was sent into Spain; the seventh and eleventh were to return to their old quarters in Dalmatia and Pannonia; while the thirteenth was employed in raising amphitheatres for the exhibitions of gladiators, that were to be given by Cæcina and Valens at Cremona and Bononia.

The temper of his own troops was almost as dangerous to Vitellius, as that of the conquered army. At Ticinum, he gave an entertainment to Verginius; and the soldiers, naturally following the example of their chief, were immersed in all the drunkenness and disorder of Bacchanalian revels. A quarrel having arisen between the legionary troops and the Gallic auxiliaries, two cohorts of the latter were massacred; and the slaughter would have been still greater, if they had not been alarmed by a false report, that the fourteenth legion was coming to attack them. Amidst the tumult and anger that were excited, a slave of Verginius was accused of an intention to assassinate the emperor, and the factious soldiers ran, with ignorant zeal, to demand that Verginius should be put to death. Vitellius, although he was timidly suspicious, was thoroughly assured of his innocence, but could not without great difficulty protect him from his violent accusers. It was the lot of Verginius, to be attacked oftener, than any one else, by the seditious frenzy of the soldiers; for while they admired his dignified character, they hated him for having rejected their offers of the supreme power, and for presuming to be more virtuous than themselves. Mankind may praise, but they seldom love those who elevate themselves above the ordinary passions and prejudices of their race. Vitellius, in consequence of the disorderly state of his army, sent back the Gallic auxiliaries to their own country; he also dismissed the Batavian cohorts, who were exceedingly turbulent, into Germany; he suffered no fresh levies to be made for the legions, and gave discharges to all who would accept of them. This reduction of the forces was

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displeasing to the soldiers, upon whom it entailed a greater share of duty, at a time when they were enervated with luxury and indolence.

Vitellius, having beheld at Cremona an exhibition of gladiators provided by Cæcina, desired to feast his eyes with the spectacle of the dreadful carnage on the plains of Bebriacum. Not more than forty days had elapsed since the battle; and the scene of it now presented to the view mutilated bodies of men and horses, the ground being covered with gore and putrid matter, with decayed trees and plants, and with fractured armour. In contrast with these mournful objects, the inhabitants of Cremona had strewed part of the road with laurels and roses, and had raised altars, and sacrificed victims, in honour of Vitellius. There were some in his retinue, who could not but feel sorrow, and even shed tears at so afflicting a spectacle of human misery and crime; but Vitellius himself was so far from being moved at the sight, that he behaved with the most disgusting insolence and cruelty. When some one complained of the stench issuing from so many corpses, he remarked, that nothing smelt better than a dead enemy, especially if he had been a fellow-citizen; and in order to relieve himself from the effects of so offensive an odour, he drank a large draught of wine, and distributed some among all his followers. Having inspected the tomb of Otho, he observed that it was fit for him, and sent the dagger with which he had killed himself to Cologne, in order that it might be dedicated to Mars.

At Bononia, fresh blood was spilt in a combat of gladiators given at the expense of Fabius Valens. The nearer Vitellius approached to Rome, the more freely he indulged in dissolute pleasures, and in the company of actors and eunuchs, and such

other associates, as had debased the court of Nero. As soon as he was informed that the armies of the East had sworn allegiance to him, his arrogance and sloth became unbounded; for there had been vague reports, which kept him in awe, respecting the intentions of Vespasian; but when it appeared that there was no rival to be apprehended, both he and his troops assumed the arbitrary licence of undisputed victors. He rested at all the towns and villas, which attracted him by their pleasant and luxurious situation, while his soldiers continually quarrelled and shed each other's blood, and often united their arms against the peaceful inhabitants. At the distance of seven miles from Rome, there was a considerable slaughter of the citizens, arising from their free and petulant jokes, which the angry troops resented by drawing their swords. There were about sixty thousand armed men with Vitellius, and a still greater number of attendants; and these, increased by persons of all ranks flocking from the city, constituted an immense and disorderly multitude. He rode from the Milvian bridge on horseback, girt with his sword, and in a military robe, while the senate and people preceded him. He would have entered Rome as a captured city, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends; but in compliance with their advice, he assumed a peaceful dress, and carefully arranged his troops. Amidst the eagles and standards of an army which deserved a far nobler commander, he proceeded into Rome, and ascended the Capitol, where he bestowed upon his mother the name of Augusta.

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On the following day, he delivered an oration before the senate and people, in praise of his own industry and temperance, although nearly every one present was conscious of the extent to which

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Tac. Hist. ii.
91.

he was disfigured with the opposite vices. The people, accustomed to offer adulation to all their emperors, indiscriminately greeted him with applause, and, overcoming his apparent reluctance, constrained him to accept of the title of Augustus. He assumed the pontificate on the eighteenth of July, a day that was esteemed most unlucky among the Romans, because it was the anniversary of the defeats at Cremera and Allia; but he and his advisers were as ignorant of the religious laws of their country, as they were regardless of its civil rights. He declared himself perpetual consul, and had the temerity to nominate the magistrates for ten years to come. In the consulships of the present year, he did not make any greater alterations, than were necessary for securing the office to Cæcina and Valens during certain months. He courted the favour of the populace, by entering into the amusements of the theatre and circus; but such behaviour in him was considered to arise from a vulgar taste and disposition, rather than from a becoming condescension. He frequently attended the senate, even when the consultation was not upon important subjects, and appeared willing to be treated on an equality with the rest of the assembly. After a dispute with Priscus Helvidius, he observed, that it was not surprising that two senators should disagree, for he himself had been in the habit of opposing Thræsea. While some were pleased at the honour which he appeared to pay the virtuous Thræsea, others could not but deride the ignorant vanity with which he exalted himself into an opponent of so great a man.

The chief authority in the state was wielded by his two generals Cæcina and Valens, whose jealousy, but ill dissembled during the war, was

now inflamed by the zeal and flattery of their partisans. They rivalled each other in the splendour of their retinue, and in the number of their friends and dependants, plundering the public wealth, and seizing the most sumptuous houses and gardens for the gratification of their avarice and pride. But while they usurped all power, and despised the sluggish disposition of Vitellius, they were obliged to conciliate his fickle and irritable temper. By their interest, P. Sabinus, and Julius Priscus, were appointed prætorian præfects. Sixteen cohorts were enrolled for the prætorian guards, and four for the city troops, each cohort consisting of a thousand men; but so great was the licence granted to the soldiers, that they entered into this service, or declined it as they pleased. While, therefore, the legions were weakened by a deduction of twenty thousand men, the troops that were to be stationed at Rome consisted of a mixed multitude, taken indiscriminately from the whole army. The capital in the mean time overflowed with its military occupants, who were obliged to fix their quarters in the porticoes and temples, and who, liberated from the restraints of discipline, abandoned themselves to indolence and the lowest debauchery. Many who settled in the unhealthy parts of Rome were destroyed by sickness, and the German and Gallic troops were unable to support the heat of an Italian summer.

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Vitellius, although he had not money for the largess which the soldiers expected from him, lavished great sums in building stables, and preparing exhibitions of gladiators and wild beasts. His birth-day was celebrated by Cæcina and Valens with extraordinary splendour and expense, shows of gladiators being given in all the streets

Tac. Hist. ii.

95.

Suet. ix.

(Vitell.) 11, 14.

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of Rome. The virtuous citizens were offended, in the same degree that the dissolute were pleased, at seeing altars raised in the Campus Martius, and sacrifices publicly offered to the *Manes* of Nero, amidst an assemblage of various orders of priests. Nothing could be more lamentable, than the present condition of Rome; for, in the court of Vitellius, there was no admission for men of industry and talent, but merely for actors and drivers of chariots, and such creatures as Asiaticus, who in less than four months had equalled the infamy of the most corrupt freedmen of former emperors. The most effectual method for obtaining favour and power was to give sumptuous entertainments to Vitellius, who regarded nothing so much as his insatiable appetite, on which he is said to have expended about seven millions* of money in a very few months. Three or four splendid repasts were prepared for him every day, and in order that he might swallow a greater load of food, he relieved his stomach by vomiting. At a supper given him by his brother, there were two thousand of the most rare fish, and seven thousand birds, placed on table. But he himself surpassed this luxury, upon the first occasion of using an immense dish, which he called the shield of Minerva, and in which he mixed the brains of peacocks and pheasants, with livers of fishes, and many delicacies obtained from abroad. His appetite was so unseasonably ravenous, that during a sacrifice he would devour the meat from off the altar; he would also gratify his palate with the smoking viands of the shops on the road, or even with their cold fragments, if nothing better could be procured.

* Novies millies.

Gluttony was not his only vice : he also possessed a cruel and malignant disposition, which prompted him to put persons to death for very trivial offences. He killed, in various ways, some men of noble rank who had been his school-fellows, and who for a time were caressed with as much kindness as if they were almost going to be admitted by him to a share of the government. To one of them he administered poison with his own hand in a cup of cold water, which he desired for allaying the thirst of a fever. A certain Roman knight, who was being conducted to execution, exclaimed, with a view of moving the emperor's compassion, that he had nominated him his heir : upon which Vitellius ordered the will to be produced ; and having found that the knight's freedman was co-heir with himself, he resolved that they should both be killed together. He committed a still greater act of barbarity, in commanding two youths to be put to death, whose only offence was, that they had interceded for the life of their father.

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CHAPTER II.

Vespasian sends his son Titus to offer submission to Galba.—Characters of Vespasian and Mucianus.—The former aspires to the imperial power.—Is encouraged by Mucianus, and by the priest at Mount Carmel.—Is declared Emperor at Alexandria, in Judæa, and in Syria.—Is acknowledged throughout the East, and makes active preparations for war.—Mucianus leads an army for the invasion of Italy, and commits great extortion.—The legions of Mæsia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia declare for Vespasian.—Characters of Antonius Primus, and Cornelius Fuscus.—Vitellius gives the command of his army to Cæcina, who wavers in his allegiance.—Primus advises an instant descent into Italy.—Begins his march, and captures Verona and other towns, contrary to the plan of Vespasian.—Perfidious delay of Cæcina.—Defection of the fleet at Ravenna.—Cæcina, encouraging his troops to acknowledge Vespasian, is put in chains by them.—Primus defeats the Vitellian cavalry, and two legions, near Bebricum.—Engages all night with six other legions, and finally routs them.—In this battle a son kills his own father.—Primus storms the camp at Cremona.—Captures that city, and allows it to be pillaged for four days.—Its origin and restoration.

VITELLIUS, AT the time when Vitellius was encouraged in his pride and sloth by the gratifying assurance that
^{1.}
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supreme power, an able and virtuous competitor for the empire had arisen in the East. In the year 66, Flavius Vespasianus was sent by Nero into Judæa to take the command in the war which had arisen there: the events of which will be related more particularly hereafter. At the death of that prince he had dispatched his son Titus to offer his allegiance to Galba; although the popular rumour affirmed, that Galba had sent for the youthful commander, in order to adopt him as his son. When Titus arrived at Corinth, he was informed of the death of Galba; and, after reflecting upon the danger of joining the party either of Otho or Vitellius, he resolved to return to his father. On his voyage back he visited the celebrated temple of Venus at Paphos, and is said to have received from the priest some very encouraging predictions. Before he returned to Judæa, the armies both of that province and of Syria had sworn fidelity to Otho; but the progress of events nourished new hopes and speculations in the minds of the soldiers and their commanders, and finally urged them to encounter the perils of civil war.

Vespasian had under his command three legions, experienced in war, besides some auxiliary forces. He himself was distinguished for unwearied industry and vigilant prudence; he was hardy and temperate, being satisfied with food and dress little better than those of the common soldiers; and, if he had not been tainted with avarice, he might have been justly compared with the ancient generals of the republic. Licinius Mucianus, who had the command of four legions in the adjoining province of Syria, was of quite an opposite character. He indulged in such splendour and magnificence as were scarcely compatible with the con-

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Tac. Hist. 1.

10; II. 1—7,

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dition of a private individual. When disengaged from business, he pursued pleasure with immoderate eagerness; but as soon as the occasion required, he called all his virtuous energies into action, could change his arrogance into courtesy, and atone by strict industry for his former luxurious indolence. He was versed in the management of civil affairs, and more skilful than Vespasian in conversation and debate; and if the virtues of the two could have been united without their vices, the combination would have formed (in the opinion of Tacitus) an excellent model of the princely character. Mutual jealousy had for a time kept these two commanders at variance with each other; but at the death of Nero a reconciliation was effected through the interposition of their friends; and the influence obtained over Mucianus by the engaging qualities of Titus soon united them in that close amity, which their common interest required.

As soon as it was known among the troops of Syria and Judæa, that the empire was made the object of civil contest between Otho and Vitellius, they began to be dissatisfied at remaining passive spectators of the struggle, while all the spoils and all the glory were reaped by others. In addition to the seven legions which they themselves composed, they calculated upon the two that were in Egypt, and all the forces that were in Asia, besides the wealth of so many fertile provinces, and the maritime resources of the adjoining islands. The generals, however, would not at present gratify the impetuosity of their troops, but resolved to wait the event of the war between Otho and Vitellius, considering that one of them would be destroyed by the other, and that the sur-

vivor would probably perish under the pride and insolence of victory, the discord of his triumphant friends, and the resentment of his defeated adversaries. The soldiers of Vespasian reluctantly submitted to the delay, and took the oath to Vitellius in a silent manner, sufficiently indicative of their dislike. Mucianus, abandoning all claims to the empire for himself, agreed to give his cordial support to Vespasian, whose son Titus he declared he should have adopted, if he himself had been raised to the sovereignty. The co-operation of Tiberius Alexander, the præfect of Egypt, was also secured. Besides the armies of the East, they expected that the third legion, which had been removed from Syria into Moesia, would abet their cause, and that the legions of Illyricum would probably follow the example; for the Vitellians, wherever they were dispersed, had given offence to the other troops by their arrogance and ferocity.

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So many encouraging circumstances could not conceal from Vespasian, who was of a mature age and a cautious disposition, that he was going to expose himself and family in a perilous enterprise. He wavered in his resolution, when he reflected upon the great strength and reputation of the Germanic armies, the uncertainty of gaining steady adherents to his cause, and the hazards which surrounded his own life from the mercenary attempts of individual enemies. Mucianus, on the contrary, was exceedingly sanguine in his hopes, and offered to take upon himself the most active part in the war, alleging that it was more safe for them to proceed than retract, as the mere deliberation upon the question of revolt would be considered no less a crime than the revolt itself. The other officers added their exhortations, advising

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Vespasian to remember the oracular and astrological predictions, which had promised him great eminence and success. Many intimations of future grandeur are said to have been granted to him, and one of a very decisive nature at Mount Carmel, which is situated near the sea, between Judæa and Syria. When he sacrificed to the god, whose altar was erected there, the priest, after inspecting the entrails, assured him, that whatever he had in contemplation, whether to build a house, extend his lands, or increase his slaves, the plan would be exceedingly successful. A prophecy, admitting so wide an interpretation, was easily applied to the ambitious projects on which he was deliberating, and, being disseminated by public rumour, gave confidence to those who were willing to become his adherents. Vespasian and Mucianus, having agreed to hazard a contest for the imperial power, separated from each other, the former departing to Cæsarea, and the latter to Antioch.

Suet. viii. 6.

The overt act of rebellion was commenced by Tiberius Alexander, who, on the first day of July, persuaded the troops at Alexandria to take the oath of obedience to Vespasian. On the third day of the month, the army in Judæa zealously and spontaneously performed the same ceremony, without staying for the return of Titus, who had gone on an embassy to Mucianus. A few soldiers, who were waiting to pay their customary respects to Vespasian, saluted him, as soon as he appeared from his chamber, with the title of Emperor: the rest flocked around him with great alacrity, vociferating *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and all the other appellations attached to the sovereign dignity. He received with modesty this sudden accession of grandeur, and, as soon as he had recovered from

the agitation produced by so momentous a crisis in his affairs, addressed his troops in the plain, unaffected, language of a soldier. Mucianus, having waited for the intelligence of this event, permitted his legions to swear fidelity to Vespasian, which they did with great promptitude. Afterwards he entered the theatre, where the inhabitants of Antioch were accustomed to hold their consultations, and, addressing them in the Greek language, found them sufficiently obsequious to his will. Nothing had greater weight in influencing the decision both of the soldiers and the people than his artful assertion, that Vitellius intended to station the Germanic legions in Syria, and remove the Syriac army to the dreary climate of Germany. Such an exchange would have been equally disagreeable to the Roman troops and the natives of the province, who, by long intercourse with one another, had become united in the close bonds of amity and wedlock. A copy, also, of a letter was exhibited, in which Otho conjured Vespasian to avenge his death, and assist his distressed country. This was doubtless a fiction, but it served to increase the enthusiasm in favour of Vespasian.

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Before the middle of July, the whole of Syria had submitted to him. Among his allies were Sohemus, king of Edessa, Antiochus, king of Commagene, and Agrippa, king of Ituræa; the last of whom had hastened from Rome without the knowledge of Vitellius, in consequence of secret information received from his friends. The other provinces of the East, as well as Syria, quickly acknowledged the authority of Vespasian. Having held a council at Berytus to deliberate upon the most prudent method of conducting his future operations, he resolved that he himself would take

Tac. Hist. ii.
81—84.

VITELLIUS, possession of Egypt, and that Titus should be entrusted with the management of the Jewish war, while Mucianus led an army into Italy. In order to prevent any hostile attacks in his rear, he sent ambassadors to the kings of Parthia and Armenia, the former of whom promised him the aid of forty thousand bowmen. He addressed letters to all the Roman armies and their commanders, advising that the prætorian guards, who had been lately disbanded, should be encouraged to enter his service; and these men accepted his offers, and became a very effective part of his army. Throughout the eastern provinces, troops were enlisted and vessels manned, arms were wrought and money coined. Vespasian himself superintended the preparations, exciting the zeal of his men by praises and rewards; while he induced the more eminent persons to embrace his cause, by promising them appointments in the state, or the dignity of the senatorian rank. To his soldiers he did not offer a greater donative than the emperors gave at their accession in time of peace; and his aversion to purchase their obedience improved the discipline of his armies. Mucianus, also, in his first harangue, had not promised his troops any thing more than a moderate largess.

The army, placed under the command of Mucianus for the invasion of Italy, did not proceed thither by sea, but had a tedious march to perform through Cappadocia and Phrygia. He himself moved forward with the lightest part of his troops, while the rest were to follow; but as he was conscious of their inferiority, he used only moderate speed, hoping that their strength would be exaggerated by the rumours of fame. The Roman fleet that was stationed in the Euxine sea was

ordered to wait for him at Byzantium, whence it could be employed to convey his troops, or to defend the coasts of Asia and Achaia, and attack those of Italy. As he was persuaded, and constantly averred, that money formed the sinews of civil war, he extorted it without scruple, wherever it could be found. In the causes which came under his cognizance, wealth more than equity influenced his decision; and rich persons were attacked with informations, in order that he might seize their property. He contributed money from his own purse towards the expenses of the war; but what he bestowed in such acts of ostentatious liberality, was repaid him by his public peculations. Others imitated him in his contributions, although very few had the same power of remunerating themselves.

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In the meantime the cause of Vespasian was rapidly and powerfully supported in the West. The legions of Moesia, which had been marching to the succour of Otho, were grieved and exasperated at hearing of his defeat; and, having proceeded as far as Aquileia, they tore in pieces the banners that were inscribed with the name of Vitellius, plundered money, and committed other acts of tumultuous excess. As they began to deliberate among themselves, they reflected that this violence, which would expose them to the anger of Vespasian; and, at the instigation of the third legion, which had served under him in Syria, they resolved to acknowledge him as their emperor. They sent letters to the two legions in Pannonia, who, provoked by the remembrance of their late defeat at Bebricum, readily joined the cause, and further strengthened it by the accession of the Dalmatian army. Titus Ampius Flavianus and

Tac. Hist. ii.
^{85.}
 Suet. viii. 3.

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Poppæus Silvanus were governors of the two provinces of Pannonia and Dalmatia; but being aged and wealthy persons, they abstained from any active part in the insurrection: their want of energy, however, was fully supplied by the zeal of Primus Antonius and Cornelius Fuscus. Under Nero, Primus had been expelled from the senate, for being engaged in a conspiracy respecting a supposititious will; but Galba had restored him to his rank, and given him the command of the seventh legion. It was believed, that he had written to Otho, offering to become his general in the war, but that his proposals were neglected. His services, however, as he proved in the cause of Vespasian, were by no means contemptible; for he was vigorous in action and prompt in discourse, and, though he had not the virtues suited to a time of peace, yet he was qualified to mix in scenes of discord and commotion, being an artful detractor of the merits of others, and as lavish in distributing wealth as he was bold in plundering it. Cornelius Fuscus, whom Galba had appointed procurator in Pannonia, was in the prime of life, and of noble birth; and he embraced the party of Vespasian with the alacrity of a man who considers dangers and tumults preferable to tranquillity and ease. He and Primus excited all the soldiers that were disaffected to Vitellius, both in their own province and elsewhere; they dispatched letters into Spain, into Britain, and Gaul, and in a short time kindled a war, which in itself was of a formidable character, even if it had not been accompanied by the rebellion of all the East.

The revolt of the third legion was announced to Vitellius in letters which he received from Aponius Saturninus, the governor of Moesia; but Aponius,

writing in hasty trepidation, did not divulge the whole truth, and the friends of the emperor allayed his fears by the flattering assurance, that the rest of the troops were firm in their allegiance. He commanded, however, reinforcements for his army to be sent from Germany, Britain, and Spain; but, as he disguised the dangerous state of his affairs, his orders were neither given with vigour, nor executed with promptness. At length the active preparations of his enemies, and the arrival of alarming intelligence from all quarters, aroused him from his sloth. As Valens had scarcely recovered from a severe illness, Cæcina had the sole command of the troops that were to be employed in the war. But the army which he led from Rome was very different from that which had accompanied him from Germany; for the men, enervated by the luxuries of the capital, had lost much of their vigour of mind and activity of body, had become impatient of discipline, and were imperfect even in their arms and equipments. Cæcina himself, enfeebled with sloth and inflated with arrogance, had begun to meditate treachery against Vitellius, in whose cause he had raised himself to extraordinary eminence. It was alleged by many, that his fidelity was shaken by Flavius Sabinus, who promised him that his desertion to the side of Vespasian should be adequately rewarded by his brother, and at the same time reminded him of the ascendancy in the favour of Vitellius, which had been gained by his rival Valens. On taking command of the army, Cæcina ordered part of the troops to march to Cremona, and part to Hostilia; but he himself proceeded to Ravenna, and afterwards to Patavium, in order to arrange his perfidious plans. He had a powerful accomplice in

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 A. D. 69.  Lucilius Bassus, who was commander of the fleets at Ravenna and Misenum, and who was incensed at Vitellius, because he had not been appointed prætorian præfect. It was concerted between him and Cæcina, that they should employ all their arts to corrupt those who were under their command; and Bassus had the easier undertaking, because the fleet respected the memory of Otho, while the Germanic army was devoted to Vitellius.

Tac. Hist. iii.
 1, &c.

The officers of the Pannonian legions held a council at Petovio* to deliberate, whether the invasion of Italy should be undertaken immediately, or deferred for a time. Some of them, considering the inferiority of their forces compared with the Germanic armies, declared, that it would be most prudent to take possession of the mountains called the Pannonian Alps, and wait for the arrival of Mucianus with the troops from the East. But Antonius Primus warmly condemned such delay as timid and dangerous, and, by offering to advance into Italy with some light-armed troops, inspired the others with such confidence in him, that they adopted his advice, and looked up to him as the fittest person to be their leader. Letters were sent to Aponius Saturninus, who had deserted the cause of Vitellius, urging him to join them quickly with the army of Moesia. That the provinces in their desolate condition might not be overrun by the barbarians, the chiefs of a Sarmatian people, called the Iazyges, were admitted into the Roman service. Succours were brought by Sido and Italicus, kings of the Suevi; and a detachment of troops was sent to the banks of the Ænus †, to keep in check the procurator of Rhætia, who could not be seduced from his allegiance to Vitellius.

* Petau, on the river Drave in Styria.

† The Inn.


Primus began his march with a small force of infantry and cavalry, and was accompanied by Arrius Varus, an active commander, who had gained some reputation under Corbulo in Armenia. They were received with joy by the inhabitants of some of the towns at which they arrived, and marching southward took possession of Patavium and Ateste, and surprised a body of Vitellians at Forum Allieni *. The two legions from Pannonia joined them at Patavium, and the courage of all of the men was elated by the favourable commencement of the war. Primus, with a view of recommending the cause in which he was engaged, commanded that the statues of Galba, which had been thrown down during the civil tumults, should be replaced in all the free towns; and this act of justice to a prince, who appeared amiable in comparison with Otho and Vitellius, was greatly commended. Having resolved to make Verona the centre of his operations, because it was surrounded with open plains adapted to the movements of cavalry (in which force he was superior), he entered it without opposition, and was zealously assisted by the inhabitants of this wealthy colony. Vicentia, which lay on his road, was also captured; and, although it was a small town, the soldiers ridiculously magnified its importance, because it was the birth-place of Cæcina, whom they considered it a great achievement to deprive of his country! These successes of Primus by no means accorded with the plan of war which Vespasian had devised; for he ordered that his forces should wait at Aquileia for Mucianus, hoping that, by the possession of Egypt and the most opulent provinces of the empire, he should be able to deprive

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\* Ferrara.

**VITELLIUS**,<sup>1.</sup> the armies of Vitellius both of money and provisions. Mucianus, also, sent frequent letters, ex-  
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 patiating upon the glory of obtaining a bloodless victory; but, in reality, he was desirous of usurping all the success and fame of the war to himself. His advice and the orders of Vespasian, being conveyed from the distant countries of the East, arrived too late to restrain the impetuosity of Primus.

Cæcina fortified his camp in a strong position between Hostilia and the river Tartarus, and, as he had about six legions with him, he could easily have overwhelmed the two legions of Primus, or compelled them to retreat from Italy. But, instead of attacking them, he dispatched letters, upbraiding them with their temerity, but carefully abstaining from any reproaches against Vespasian; and he continued this perfidious trifling, until Primus was reinforced with three legions, and was able to fortify himself in Verona. T. Ampius Flavianus, whom various causes had rendered odious to his troops, was attacked by them on suspicion of treachery, and would have been killed but for the interference of Primus. Aponius Saturninus was the next object of their fury, and both he and Flavianus were compelled to quit the camp. On the departure of these two persons of consular rank, who were rightfully the commanders of the Pannonian and Mœsian armies, the entire authority was vested in Antonius Primus, by the concession of his colleagues and the favour of the soldiers; and some were of opinion, that the tumults had been fomented by him with the hope of gaining this end.

Among the Vitellians, not only sedition, but decided treachery, had manifested itself. The

partisans, whom Lucilius Bassus had gained for the purpose of betraying the fleet at Ravenna, having chosen the darkness of night for the execution of their plot, began with great uproar to overthrow the statues of Vitellius; and, after they had slain a few of their comrades who resisted them, the others declared their readiness to acknowledge the authority of Vespasian. They elected Cornelius Fuscus to be their præfect in the room of the perfidious Bassus, who was sent to Adria, and placed in chains, but was immediately liberated by the interference of Hormus, the freedman of Vespasian. As soon as Cæcina was apprised of the defection of the fleet, he summoned the chief centurions and a few of the soldiers, and harangued them upon the virtues of Vespasian and the strength of his party, giving, at the same time, a most discouraging description of the affairs of Vitellius. Those who were privy to his designs began to take the oath to Vespasian, the images of Vitellius were thrown down, and messengers were sent to inform Primus of the revolution which had commenced. But it was not doomed that the act of perfidy should be accomplished; for the soldiers, after being absorbed in silent amazement at the audacity of Cæcina's intentions, were filled with indignation at the thought of disgracing the lustre of the Germanic armies by so dastardly a surrender. Altogether they amounted to eight legions; and were they to submit without a struggle to troops not so numerous as themselves, many of whom they had lately conquered in the very country where they were now encamped? Impelled with scorn and fury, they replaced the images of Vitellius, and loaded the traitor Cæcina with chains; they chose Fabius Fabullus, the

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1.

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VITELLIUS, lieutenant of the fifth legion, and Cassius Longus, præfect of the camp, to be commanders in his stead, and, having left their quarters, proceeded first to Hostilia, and afterwards towards Cremona, in order to join two legions, which Cæcina had sent thither, with a body of cavalry.

<sup>1.</sup>  
A. D. 69.

Aware of the confusion which prevailed among his enemies, Primus determined to attack them before order could be sufficiently restored, and before Valens should arrive from Rome. He marched, therefore, with his whole army from Verona, and in two days arrived at Bebriacum. On the following day he sent out his light troops to plunder and reconnoitre between that town and Cremona, and was soon informed that the enemy was approaching. Arrius Varus, with a precipitation of which Primus did not approve, rushed forth to meet them; but, after gaining a slight advantage, he was repulsed, and in his flight spread consternation and disorder among the main army. Primus, discharging all the duties of a valiant general and an active soldier, endeavoured, by exhortation and example, to rally his troops. He transfixed with a spear a standard-bearer whom he saw fleeing, and, taking the standard in his own hands, advanced with it against the enemy. Encouraged by his bravery, about a hundred horsemen made a stand in a place where the road was narrow, and a broken bridge obstructed their flight; and this troop received the Vitellians so resolutely, that the fortune of the battle was changed, and Primus became the pursuer. About four miles from Cremona he encountered the two legions, that had been detached by Cæcina; being weary, however, and without a leader, they did

not long resist his attack, but took refuge within the walls of Cremona.

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1.

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Primus, satisfied with the success which he had gained, did not continue the pursuit; but in the evening, as his troops came up, and beheld the number of the slain, their pride was inflated, and they began to imagine that they could easily finish the war by a sudden assault upon Cremona, the booty of which offered a tempting remuneration to its captors. In vain Primus explained to them the dangerous folly of attacking walls and towers without the necessary engines of war: they persisted in their blind confidence, until they were alarmed by some information obtained from some stragglers that were taken near Cremona. It appeared, that Primus had defeated only the cavalry of the Vitellians and two of their legions; and he learnt from his prisoners, that the six legions, who had marched from Hostilia, having heard of the defeat of their comrades, would soon arrive on the spot in order to renew the battle. He arranged his troops according to the nature of the ground, and about nine o'clock in the evening the enemy appeared. It was now the end of October, and yet in such a season, and at such an hour, the two armies, instead of waiting for morning, began an engagement, which continued during the whole of the night with unmitigated fury, and with variable success on each side. For a time the soldiers, being equipped in similar armour, were mingled together in deadly confusion: valour and skill were useless: and being unable to distinguish their own ranks and standards, both sides were constantly calling for the watchword, in order that they might not kill a friend instead of a foe.



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1.  
A. D. 69.

The Vitellians, having fixed an immense *balista* in the road, were shattering their enemies with the huge stones ejected from it, when two of the soldiers of Primus, covering themselves with shields, advanced and secretly cut the cords and fastenings with which it was sustained. This daring exploit was followed by their instant death; and, as their names were unknown, they lost even the empty reward of posthumous fame.

Victory had not favoured either side, when late at night the moon arose, and enabled the combatants to discern one another, though not with equal clearness and advantage. As its light shone upon the backs of the troops of Primus, the lengthened shadows of the men and horses deceived his enemies in the aiming of their darts; but the Vitellians, being placed with their faces opposite to its beams, were exposed in a conspicuous manner to the less erring attacks of their adversaries. As soon as Primus could see, and be seen by, his men, he addressed the several legions in such language of encouragement, or reproach, as was best adapted to stimulate their ardour, and they responded to him with a general shout. When the sun arose upon the dreadful scene of contest and bloodshed, the third legion paid their adoration to the morning luminary, according to a custom prevalent in Syria, where they had formerly served. From this circumstance a rumour was propagated, perhaps by the contrivance of their leader, that the forces of Mucianus had arrived, and that the two armies had saluted each other. Under the exhilarating hope of such succour, a fresh attack was made upon the Vitellians, who, being unable to restore their broken ranks, were at last driven from the field.

Thus in the space of twenty-four hours Primus had gained two victories over forces, that collectively were far superior to his own; but probably the result would have been very different, if his enemies had not been weakened by the treachery of their commander. Among the melancholy occurrences of the latter engagement it is related, that a Spanish soldier, named Julius Mansuetus, was attacked and fatally wounded by his own son; while he was being despoiled by him, they recognized each other, and the son, with the most bitter grief and remorse, implored his dying father to pardon the involuntary parricide. The crime excited a transient horror throughout the army, but did not deter the sanguinary soldiers from committing acts of similar atrocity in slaughtering their relatives and brothers, who were opposed to them in the hateful struggles of civil warfare.

VITELLIUS,  
1.  
A. D. 69.

When the victors appeared before Cremona, they found that the most appalling labours and perils were still to be surmounted by them; for not only the lofty walls of the city were to be scaled, but a strongly fortified camp, which had been thrown round them during the Othonian war, presented a previous barrier. The resolution of the soldiers was shaken by the formidable spectacle: the generals were perplexed between the danger of attempting an assault with soldiers that had been in action the last day and night, the disgrace of retreating to Bebriacum, and the difficulty of encamping in the sight of so many enemies. Primus, trusting that no achievement would be too arduous for troops inflamed with an avidity for booty, ordered the assault against the enemy's camp to commence, and judiciously allotted a place to each of his legions, in order that they might be

VITELLIUS, stimulated by their rivalry one of another. When  
 1. the soldiers began to be weary at the obstinate  
 A.D. 69. resistance which they met, they were encouraged  
 by their generals with the hope of pillaging the  
 rich city of Cremona; and thus incited to dis-  
 regard wounds and death, they ascended the ram-  
 parts, compelled the Vitellians to throw themselves  
 from them in dismay, and filled with their slaugh-  
 tered bodies all the space between the camp and  
 the walls of the town.

Tac. Hist. III.  
 30.  
 Dion. lxxv.

The gates of Cremona being still closed against  
 Primus, he ordered all the buildings outside  
 the city to be set on fire; and when his legions  
 advanced to attack the walls, the chiefs of the  
 Vitellians, considering that they should be the  
 principal victims of the conqueror's fury, deter-  
 mined to sue for peace. They liberated Cæcina  
 from the chains with which he was bound, be-  
 seeching him with tears to become their inter-  
 cessor, and exhibited garlands from the walls in  
 token of submission. Primus ordered the attack  
 to be suspended, and they marched out with all the  
 humiliation of a conquered army, and were begin-  
 ning to suffer insults and even blows, when it was  
 remembered that they were the troops who had  
 lately shown a generous moderation in their victory  
 at Bebriacum. But when Cæcina, who was con-  
 sul at the time, appeared with his lictors and all  
 the decorations of his office, the very soldiers, who  
 had been so much benefited by his treachery, were  
 disgusted with such a combination of crime and  
 magnificence, and reviled him for his perfidious  
 conduct. Primus, however, protected him from  
 their anger, and sent him in safe custody to  
 Vespasian.

The Vitellian troops that submitted to Primus,

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 1.  
 A. D. 69.

received from him assurances of clemency; but the unfortunate inhabitants of Cremona were neither promised safety, nor threatened with punishment. The conquering army, provoked at the support which they had always given to the cause of Vitellius, were eager for the plunder of their city, which probably they considered as their rightful spoil, and the merited recompense of their achievements. Primus is supposed to have sanctioned their barbarous wishes; for having entered a bath, in order to cleanse himself from the blood and dust with which he was covered, and being dissatisfied with the temperature of it, he observed that the place would soon be hot enough. This remark, whether uttered in sportive idleness or serious malignity, fixed upon him the charge of having allowed the pillage and conflagration, which immediately ensued. Forty thousand armed men, and a still greater number of their attendants, entered Cremona, to indulge in every excess of rapine, cruelty, and lust. The young were sacrificed to the brutal sensuality of the soldiers, and often became the objects of deadly contest between them; nor could any dignity of rank or character protect the aged citizens from wanton insult. The temples and houses were plundered of all their treasures, and afterwards set on fire, and sometimes the wretched inhabitants were scourged and tormented until they had disclosed the secret repositories of their wealth. The Vitellians, in whose cause they had exposed themselves to such atrocities, ungenerously became their prosecutors, and took as active a part in their spoliation as the victors themselves. The sacking continued four days, during which fifty thousand persons were destroyed, including those who were killed in the engagement

VITELLIUS, before the walls. The city was adorned with many splendid buildings, but the only place that escaped the fire was the temple of Mephitis.

<sup>1.</sup>  
A. D. 69.

Such was the fate of Cremona, after it had existed two hundred and eighty-six years. It was founded at the beginning of the second Punic war, to keep in check the Transpadane Gauls, or any invader that should descend from the Alps; and the convenience of its situation, and the fertility of the soil, had raised it to an enviable degree of prosperity. Primus, in order to lighten the infamy which he had incurred by its conflagration, commanded that none of its inhabitants should be detained prisoners. The general refusal of the people of Italy to purchase such captives, frustrated the rapacity of their conquerors; but it could not soften their cruelty, nor prevent them from putting them to the sword. Their relatives, therefore, secretly ransomed them from destruction; the surviving inhabitants gradually returned to the walls of their ruinous city; and Cremona, by the encouragement of Vespasian, and by the liberality of the free towns, arose from its ruins. Primus dispersed the conquered legions throughout Illyricum, and sent troops to occupy the passes of the Alps, that Vitellius might not receive any succour from Germany.

## CHAPTER III.

*Indolence of Vitellius.—Vitellius deprives Cæcina of the consulship.—Poisons Junius Blæsus.—Dangerous delay of Fabius Valens.—Vespasian acknowledged Emperor in Spain, Gaul, and Britain.—Mucianus checks an irruption of the Dacians.—Anicetus ravages Pontus.—Made prisoner.—Primus marches into Umbria.—Jealousy between him and Mucianus.—Vitellius pretends disbelief of the success of his enemies.—Orders troops to march.—Joins them.—Defection of the fleet, and of the cities of Campania.—Primus crosses the Apennines.—Surrender of the army of Vitellius.—Vitellius promises Flavius Sabinus to abdicate the imperial power.—Prevented from doing so by the soldiers.—Sabinus defeated.—Retires to the Capitol, which is burned.—Escape of Domitian.—Capture and death of Sabinus.—L. Vitellius takes Terracina.—Proposals of Vitellius rejected by Primus.—Rome carried by assault.—Death of Vitellius and his mother.—His person and character.*

VITELLIUS, while his generals were betraying him, and his armies suffering defeat, had secluded himself in his villa in the Arician forest; and there, wholly absorbed in the gross enjoyments of insatiable gluttony, he had remained torpidly regardless of the future. The defection of the fleet at Ravenna, however, disturbed his luxurious repose; but when he was apprised of the treachery of Cæcina, and

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1.  
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Tac. Hist. iii.  
36, &c.

**VITELLIUS**, the punishment which followed it, he felt more exultation at the fidelity of his army, than concern at the crime of their commander. Having returned to Rome, he extolled in an assembly of the people the unshaken constancy of his legions, and ordered P. Sabinus, the prætorian præfect, to be put in chains (because he was a friend of Cæcina), and transferred his office to Alphenus Varus. The consulship, with which Cæcina was invested, was given to Rosius Regulus, although there was but a single day of it unexpired; but there was a precedent of the office having been held for an equally short space of time, in the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar.

<sup>l.</sup>  
A. D. 69.


The death of Junius Blæsus redounded to the infamy both of Vitellius and his brother. While the emperor was lying ill, he observed that a neighbouring mansion was lighted up at night, and, upon enquiring the cause, was informed, that Cæcina Fuscus was entertaining a number of guests, among whom Junius Blæsus was the most distinguished. His flatterers, giving an aggravated account of the gaiety and splendour of the feast, cast reproaches upon the party, and chiefly upon Blæsus, for indulging in festivity, while their prince was pining in sickness. L. Vitellius, who was malignantly jealous of Blæsus on account of his high and virtuous reputation, entered the apartment of his brother, and, assuming a great appearance of consternation and grief, declared that it was useless to guard against the open attacks of Vespasian, while he cherished an insidious enemy within the walls of the city. When the emperor's suspicions and resentment were sufficiently excited, it was resolved that the most secret mode of vengeance should be adopted.

Blæsus, therefore, was poisoned, the savage Vitellius being present at the execution of the crime, and boasting afterwards that he had feasted his eyes with the spectacle of his enemy's death. Blæsus was distinguished for the elegance of his manners, as well as the lustre of his birth; but he was so far from aspiring to the sovereignty, that he was not ambitious of any extraordinary honour, and steadily resisted the solicitations of Cæcina and others, when they began to meditate the plan of deserting Vitellius.

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1.  
A. D. 69.

A few days after the departure of Cæcina, Valens had marched from Rome in order to take his share in the war; but the effeminate train of eunuchs and concubines, with which he was accompanied, delayed his operations, when he had need of the most unceasing rapidity. When he heard of the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, he might, by marching with celerity, have anticipated the designs of Cæcina, or at least have placed himself at the head of his legions, before they ventured into action. But he was irresolute, and lost the time in writing for succours, which, when they arrived, were inadequate to any useful purpose. After lingering in Umbria and Etruria, he heard of the disastrous events at Cremona, and conceived the plan of sailing to some part of Gallia Narbonensis, and raising forces in Gaul and Germany, in order to kindle a war in the rear of his enemies. Having put to sea, he was driven into the port of Hercules Monæcus, where he was informed that Valerius Paullinus, the procurator of Gallia Narbonensis, had induced the inhabitants of that country to embrace the cause of Vespasian, and had occupied with his troops all the places on the sea shore. He returned, therefore, to his vessels with a few



VITELLIUS, <sup>1.</sup>  
A. D. 69.  attendants, and, uncertain whither to direct his voyage, was carried by the wind to the islands called Stœchades\*, belonging to the people of Marseilles, and there he was captured by some gallies which Paullinus had sent to intercept him.

After Valens had fallen into the hands of his enemies, the western provinces began to recognize the authority of Vespasian. The revolution commenced in Spain by the zeal of the first legion, which, being attached to the memory of Otho, was ready to revolt from his adversary, Vitellius. The states of Gaul quickly followed the example; and in Britain, where Vespasian had formerly distinguished himself, the second legion, of which he had been lieutenant, supported his pretensions, although not without some opposition on the part of the other forces.

The Dacians, who were never friendly to the Roman power, were tempted to begin hostilities on account of the removal of the legions from Moesia. As soon as they learnt that the Romans had turned their arms against one another, and had made Italy the seat of civil warfare, they took possession of both banks of the Danube, and were preparing to attack the camp of their enemies, when Mucianus arrived with the sixth legion, on his march from the East, and repressed their sudden irruptions. Fonteius Agrippa, who had been proconsul of Asia, was entrusted with the protection of Moesia, being strengthened with reinforcements from the Vitellian troops, who had been defeated at Cremona, and whom it was expedient to disperse through the distant provinces.

Unexpected disturbances were excited in Pontus by a chieftain named Anicetus, who had been the

\* The Hieres.

VITELLIUS,

1.  
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freedman of King Polemon, and commander of his fleet. Dissatisfied with the revolution, which, in the time of Nero, had transformed that country into a Roman province, and deprived him of his extensive power, he collected a body of freebooters from the neighbouring territories, under pretence of assisting Vitellius, and by a sudden attack captured Trapezus, a celebrated city founded by the Greeks at the extremity of the Euxine Sea. He slew the cohort which had formed part of the King's auxiliaries, set fire to the fleet, and fearlessly committed ravages by sea, because Mucianus had withdrawn the chief part of the vessels, and all the troops, to Byzantium. But when Vespasian was apprised of these hostilities, he dispatched some forces under an experienced leader named Viridius Geminus, who, attacking the barbarians while they were dispersed without order in search of booty, compelled them to flee on board their ships. Having quickly built some light vessels, he overtook Anicetus at the mouth of a river where he had sought the protection of the king of the Sedocheri, whose alliance he had purchased by money. The king at first declared his resolution to protect the fugitive at any hazard; but as his fidelity was not proof against the gifts, which the Romans added to their menaces, he surrendered him into their hands for a stipulated reward. While Vespasian was gratified with the termination of this petty war, he received in Egypt the more joyful intelligence of the successes of his army at Cremona. He hastened his journey to Alexandria, intending to subdue his enemies (if arms were not sufficient for their conquest) by depriving them of all supplies of corn from the fertile provinces of Africa.

Primus, elated by the rapid victories which he

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I.  
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had gained, began to insult over Italy as if it had been a conquered country, and to display his pride and ambition, and all the secret vices of his character. He endeavoured to win the favour of the soldiers by indulgence and the most pernicious arts, even granting them the privilege of electing their own centurions. Of course their choice fell upon the most turbulent and seditious persons in the camp: discipline and subordination were destroyed, and the generals were obliged to submit to the domination of those whom they ought to have controlled. So little reverence was shown to virtue or natural affection, that a soldier appeared before his commanders, avowing that he had killed his brother in the last engagement, and claiming a reward for the extraordinary service; nor did they dare to express any abhorrence at his callous audacity, but evaded his demand by promising it a more attentive consideration hereafter. Primus, leaving the greater part of his legions at Verona, crossed the Po with his light-armed troops and cavalry, and continued his march till he came to Fanum Fortunæ. The lower parts of Umbria and the shores of Picenum were occupied by his forces, and the Apennines now formed the barrier between his army and that of Vitellius. He himself was eager to advance with the same rapidity which had distinguished his former movements; but some of the generals, viewing his exorbitant powers with jealousy, and being attached to the interests of Mucianus, endeavoured to create delay. Mucianus, who had been easily outstripped while marching from the distant provinces of the East, was afraid of losing all participation in the achievements in Italy, and therefore counselled his friends, who were with Primus, to interpose every possible

obstacle to his celerity. Through them, disparaging accounts of his operations were transmitted to Vespasian; and Primus, on the other hand, wrote boastful letters in justification of his own exploits, and directed such free insinuations against Mucianus, as inflamed a bitter animosity between them.

VITELLIUS,

I.  
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Vitellius, with the most obstinate infatuation, concealed the unfavourable tidings which he received of the events at Cremona, and, as if the evils of war were to be conquered by silence, abstained from speaking of them himself, and demanded the same forbearance from others. The truth, however, was exaggerated by rumour, in proportion to the attempts made to suppress it. The leaders of the hostile army suffered their spies to explore their strength, and carry back exact information to Vitellius, who, after he had secretly examined them, commanded that they should be put to death. A centurion, named Julius Agrestis, gained the emperor's permission to ascertain the real situation of the enemy's affairs, and, rejecting all secrecy, went and candidly avowed to Primus the business which he had undertaken. Primus allowed him to view the field of battle, the ruins of Cremona, and the captured legions; but when he returned, Vitellius refused to credit his account, and declared that he had been bribed by his adversaries. The faithful centurion replied, that since the emperor's incredulity could not be overcome but by some extraordinary proof, he would give him one; and, as soon as he left his presence, he went and slew himself.

Tac. Hist. iii.  
54, &c.

Vitellius, roused at length to some sense of his imminent danger, commanded the præfects, Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, to march with

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1.  
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fourteen prætorian cohorts and all the cavalry, in order to occupy the passes of the Apennines. A legion of marine soldiers followed; and the whole would have composed a formidable army, if they had been under the direction of a vigorous leader. The remaining cohorts were confided to L. Vitellius for the protection of the city, while the emperor himself, without any remission of his usual luxury, lavished favours with blind prodigality, granting consulships for a great number of years to come, and bestowing such privileges and immunities, as could not have been ratified without serious injury to the state. When his army, which had halted at Mevania, desired his presence, he proceeded to the camp with a great body of senators, whom he compelled to accompany him, partly through ostentation, and partly through fear. As he was haranguing the soldiers, such a multitude of offensive birds flew above their heads, that the sky was darkened by them. It was also considered a dreadful omen\*, that the ox, which was to be sacrificed, fled from the altar, and overthrew the sacred apparatus. But of all the portents presented to the eyes of the Roman soldiers, none could be more amazing than their emperor himself, who was not only unfit to conceive any military plan, but proved by his interrogatories that he was ignorant of the most common operations of war. Nor was his valour greater than his skill; for at every fresh rumour his look and gesture betrayed his fears, which he afterwards hastened to drown in the stupor of intoxication. All the officers, who could have given him judicious counsel respecting the management of the war, were excluded from his presence by his confidential friends, who knew

\* *Dirum omen.*

that honest advice and sincere truth would be repugnant to his weak and infatuated mind.

VITELLIUS,

1.  
A. D. 69.

Growing weary of the camp, where his incompetence for all the duties of a general was so conspicuous, he returned to Rome after he had received alarming intelligence from Misenum. The fleet at that port had been induced to revolt from him, by a centurion named Claudius Faventinus, who had been disgraced by Galba, and who now forged letters in the name of Vespasian, offering rewards to those who should aid his cause. The fraud succeeded, and the revolted were abetted in their designs by some of the free towns and colonies of Campania. Puteoli distinguished itself for its zeal in behalf of Vespasian, while the rival city of Capua remained faithful to Vitellius. Claudius Julianus, who had lately been præfect of the fleet, received some troops from Vitellius, in order to arrest the progress of the insurgents; but, instead of quelling them, he deserted to their side, and took possession of the strong town of Terracina. The emperor's brother was afterwards sent, with six cohorts and some cavalry, to resist the defection which was spreading in Campania; and the remainder of the Vitellian army drew nearer to Rome, having retreated from Mevania to Narnia. While enemies were rising on all sides, the Roman citizens encouraged their desponding emperor with professions of zeal and promises of support, which were never realized. In deference to the opinion of the people, who had a superstitious reverence for the name of *Cæsar*, he consented to receive that appellation which he had before rejected.

The imprudent retreat and separation of his forces enabled his enemies to pass the Apennines; but the difficulty which they experienced in sur-

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mounting the deep snows would have been almost insuperable, if an hostile army had been ready to oppose their progress. They were joined by an eminent deserter, Petilius Cerialis, who had fled from the Vitellians in disguise, and who, being a relative of Vespasian, was now entrusted with a command in his army. Flavius Sabinus, the brother, and Domitian, the son of Vespasian, continued at Rome in the power of their enemies, the former pleading that he was too infirm, and the other considering that he was too strictly watched, to attempt an escape. The regard of Vitellius for the safety of his own relations deterred him from any deliberate cruelty to those of his adversary. A similar feeling had prevailed between him and Otho, and it is pleasing to observe any mitigation of the barbarities usually committed in the civil wars of the Romans, even though it did not arise from disinterested clemency.

When Primus arrived at Carsulæ, his troops, expecting an easy issue to the war, desired to attack their enemies without waiting for the legions which were marching from Verona; but he restrained their impetuosity, hoping that the Vitellians, who were encamped at the distance of ten miles, would be induced to surrender without any sanguinary conflict. He was soon joined by his main army; and, being apprised by deserters that a body of four hundred cavalry was stationed at Interamna, he dispatched Varus, who easily put them to flight, the greater part throwing down their arms, and suing for quarter. The terror diffused among the Vitellians caused frequent desertions of the tribunes and centurions; but the common soldiers were obstinately devoted to the cause of Vitellius, until at last the prætorian

præfects, Alphenus and Priscus, ignominiously forsook their camp, and returned to Rome, leaving their army to the unresisted machinations of their enemies. About the same time, Fabius Valens was put to death at Urbinum, and his head was exhibited to the Vitellians, because they imagined that he had penetrated into Germany, and was raising forces for the prosecution of the war. Being convinced of their delusion, and believing that their cause was now desperate, they submitted in an orderly manner to Primus, who addressed them in courteous terms, and ordered part of them to remain at Narnia, and part at Interamna.

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Flavius Sabinus, who had been many years præfect of Rome, and had been allowed to retain the office upon the accession of Vitellius, was now secretly solicited to overthrow the tottering power of that prince by means of the city cohorts placed under his command. But the proposal did not accord with his views, either on account of the timorous weakness of his old age, or a jealousy of Vespasian, who was his younger brother, or (what was the most favourable construction) because the mildness of his disposition made him recoil from an act that must have been accompanied with civil tumult and bloodshed. It is not impossible, that, when he remembered the forbearance which he had experienced from Vitellius, he might have been inspired with some sentiments of gratitude or commiseration towards him in his sudden reverse of fortune. Instead of employing violence, he treated with him respecting a peaceable abdication of the imperial dignity; a subject which had been previously agitated both by Primus and Mucianus. After many conferences, Vitellius stipulated with Sabinus in the temple of Apollo, that he would

Suet. vii.  
(Vitell.) 15.



VITELLIUS, <sup>1.</sup>  
A. D. 69. resign his power on condition of receiving about eight hundred thousand pounds\*.

His partisans, whose minds were not so abjectly submissive as his own, began to exclaim against the disgraceful nature of this compact, and the danger of trusting his safety to the clemency of the victor, and his haughty generals. Disheartened, however, by the news which he received on the eighteenth of December, that his army at Narnia had voluntarily surrendered itself, he proceeded from his palace in mourning apparel, with a sorrowful train of attendants, and his young son carried in a small litter. Sabinus had forgotten to stipulate, that the fallen prince should not make any attempt to excite those powerful feelings of compassion, which are deeply implanted in our nature. Vitellius, transformed from an emperor of Rome, and lord of the civilized world, into a weeping suppliant dependent upon the precarious mercy of his enemies, was such a spectacle as the Romans, in all the vicissitudes of their eventful history, had never before witnessed. When, therefore, he declared that he abdicated his power for the sake of the common welfare; when he besought the people and the soldiers to cherish the memory of himself and family; and when he stretched forth his son in his arms, and commended him to their protection; a violent conflict of feelings was excited in the bosoms of the surrounding multitude. Taking his sword from his side, he offered it to the consul Cæcilius Simplex, as intending to resign all authority over the lives of the citizens; but they protested against such a surrender, and he therefore promised that he would deposit his imperial insignia in the Temple of Concord, and retire to the house of his brother.

\* MILLER H. S.

The people again interposed, and, blocking up the different ways, constrained him to return to the palace.

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The report of the intended abdication of Vitellius, and the expectation that the supreme power would be peaceably transferred to Vespasian, had caused the principal senators and knights, and the officers of the city troops, to assemble in the house of Flavius Sabinus. Intelligence having reached them respecting the tumult, which the people and the German cohorts had excited in favour of Vitellius, they were sensible that they had avowed their sentiments too openly to admit of retractation, and therefore urged Sabinus to take up arms in their common defence. While all concurred in this counsel, few were ready to partake of the danger; but, with such as were willing to accompany him, Sabinus sallied forth, and having encountered a party of Vitellians, skirmished with them and was defeated. In order to save his life, he retreated into the Capitol with a number of soldiers, knights, and senators; and there he was besieged by the Vitellians, but so remissly, that at night he was able to send for his children, and his nephew Domitian, and also to dispatch a messenger to Primus, informing him of his perilous situation. His adversaries exercised so little vigilance, that he himself might have escaped, if he had made the attempt.

Early on the following day, he sent one of his centurions to Vitellius, to complain of the violation of their solemn compact; and Vitellius endeavoured to exculpate himself, by alleging that he was unable to restrain the fury of his soldiers. The centurion had scarcely returned with this unsatisfactory answer, when a band of Vitellians, without

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any leader, but each impelled by his own ferocity, advanced for the purpose of storming the Capitol. They quickly ascended the hill, and climbed over the adjoining temples and houses; but as they had no proper weapons for attacking so strong a place, they hurled torches upon the portico, and, having burnt down the gates, would have effected an entrance there, if they had not been opposed by a barrier of statues which Sabinus had piled in their way. Assaults, however, were resolutely made in two other directions, and amidst the fury of one party and the terror of the other, the magnificent Capitol caught fire, and was burnt. Although it was not agreed to whom the crime ought to be imputed, yet, according to the more general opinion, the besieged had committed it, in order to arrest the progress of their adversaries: the besiegers, however, appear the more guilty, in deliberately attacking with fire an edifice which both religion and antiquity had rendered the most venerable in Rome. The foundations of it had been laid by Tarquinius Priscus; but it did not rise with any great splendour until some years afterwards, when it was dedicated by the consul Horatius Pulvillus. It had been burnt at night by some malevolent individual during the civil wars of Sylla and Marius, and had been repaired, though not dedicated, by Sylla. Tacitus considers nothing could be more disgraceful to the Romans, than that the sacred structure which had been protected from the violence of foreign enemies, from Porsenna and the Gauls, should be openly attacked and burnt by the hands of sacrilegious citizens.

The Vitellians, having rushed into the Capitol amidst fire and bloodshed, slaughtered some of the military chiefs, but made prisoners of Flavius

Tac. Hist. iii.  
73.  
Suet. vii.  
(Vitell.) 15.

Sabinus, and Quinctius Atticus; the latter of whom was then consul. Domitian, at the first assault, had concealed himself with the keeper of the temple; and afterwards, by the advice of his freedman, he put on the linen dress of one of the priests of Isis, and, passing unnoticed in this disguise, was able to effect his escape. Many others, by similar arts, evaded the rage of their assailants. Sabinus and Atticus were loaded with chains, and conducted to Vitellius, who was disposed to save their lives, and stood on the steps of his palace ready to intercede for them; but the sanguinary mob, insisting on vengeance, murdered Sabinus, and, cutting off his head, exposed his lacerated body on the Gemonian steps. He was a man who had long served his country with irreproachable integrity, and who, after being governor of Moesia for seven years, and præfect of Rome for twelve, had not been reviled by his enemies for any graver offence than that of too much loquacity. At the end of his life some had blamed him for want of energy, while many others commended his conduct as remarkable for moderation and humanity. As he was superior to Vespasian in age, so he had always surpassed him in wealth and authority; but there was the most striking inequality in their ultimate fortunes, the younger being elevated to an empire, while the elder was hurried to a sanguinary and ignominious grave. After the murder of Sabinus, the people wished to inflict the same vengeance upon the consul Atticus; but Vitellius effectually resisted them, being propitiated by his confession, that he was the author of the conflagration of the Capitol, which, whether true or not, was an acceptable attempt to remove the odium of the deed from the emperor's partisans.

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About the same time, the town of Terracina was captured by L. Vitellius. The chiefs, who had occupied it in the name of Vespasian, had abandoned themselves to the most dissolute neglect; but this was not so fatal to them as the treachery of a slave, who, having deserted to L. Vitellius, conducted his troops late at night to the tops of some mountains, from which they made an unexpected descent upon their terrified enemies. Some of them escaped by putting to sea; but their perfidious leader Julianus was taken prisoner, scourged, and slain. L. Vitellius, having dispatched an account of his success to his brother, waited to receive directions whether he should immediately return to Rome, or attack the revolted cities of Campania; and this delay was fortunately interposed, for if he had marched to the Capitol, his vigour and the pertinacity of his troops would have heightened the fury of that contest, which was to take place around its walls.

The army of Vespasian, having moved from Narnia, was leisurely observing the Saturnalian holidays at Ocrinum; nor is it certain whether this dilatory conduct arose from the representations of Mucianus, or the plans of Primus and the other generals. A report, however, that the Vitellians had laid siege to the Capitol, gave greater celerity to their movements. Primus, marching by the Flaminian road, arrived during the night at Saxa Rubra, and received the mournful intelligence that Sabinus was killed, the Capitol burnt, and that the slaves and people were arming in defence of Vitellius. Petilius Cerialis, who had been sent forward with a thousand cavalry on the Salarian road, advanced with incautious confidence, and, engaging the Vitellians not far from the city

amidst some gardens and buildings, with the site of which they were acquainted, was defeated, and pursued as far as Fidenæ. Animated by this petty success, the citizens began to arm themselves, and professed great eagerness for the combat. Vitellius extolled their zeal, and, after convening the senate, sent two deputations to the hostile armies, advising that a peaceful accommodation should be made, for the sake of their country. The ambassadors, who carried the proposals to Cerialis, experienced great danger from the angry violence of his troops; for a man of prætorian rank was wounded, one of the lictors was killed, and Cerialis was obliged to give armed protection to his countrymen, while discharging before the walls of Rome an office, the sanctity of which ought to have been inviolate even among barbarians. The deputies that went to Primus were accompanied by the Vestal virgins, and, though treated with becoming respect, carried back an unfavourable answer to Vitellius, who was informed that the murder of Sabinus, and the conflagration of the Capitol, had excluded him from all right of treaty. Among the members of the deputation was Musonius Rufus, who had devoted himself to the Stoic philosophy, but whose learning had not initiated him into the characters and passions of mankind. For, mingling with the soldiers, he began to discuss in an argumentative manner, the advantages of peace and the hazards of war; and while some listened to him with impatience or contempt, others would have assailed him with violence, if he had not desisted from his unseasonable admonitions.

Primus, afraid of the excesses which might be committed by his angry troops, wished them to halt at the Milvian bridge until the following day;

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VITELLIUS, but, as they spurned all procrastination, he suffered them to advance in three divisions to attack the northern side of Rome. After various skirmishes, the Vitellians were driven within the walls. At that part of the city, which was near the Sallustian gardens, they offered an obstinate resistance, until they were surrounded by the cavalry, which had forced their way through the Colline gate. The Campus Martius also was the scene of action; and every where the Vitellians, though defeated, continued to rally their forces, and to fight with desperate resolution. The people viewed the battle as if it had been a theatrical exhibition, encouraging the combatants with their shouts, and commanding that those who fled into the shops or houses should be dragged forth and slaughtered. Nor were they disinterested spectators of the fight; for they carried off the greater part of the booty, while the soldiers were chiefly intent upon carnage. The whole city exhibited the most diversified scenes of bloodthirsty anger and dissolute riot: in some places troops of men engaged with deadly animosity, or exercised all the barbarity of victors; and, in other places, parties abandoned themselves to debauchery, and pursued all the pleasures congenial to the most festive moments of peace. The last retreat of the Vitellians was the prætorian camp, which was attacked with the engines used in the siege of cities, and not captured until its resolute defenders were overwhelmed with honourable wounds. It is reported that about fifty thousand persons lost their lives in the various conflicts and tumults which occurred in different parts of the city.

Tac. Hist. III.
85.

Vitellius, expecting the approach of his enemies, had fled from the palace to the house of his wife

on Mount Aventine, from which he hoped, after a short concealment, to effect his escape, and join his brother at Terracina. But the restlessness of fear, or an ungrounded rumour that peace had been arranged between the contending armies, induced him to return to the palace, where the most dismal solitude reigned, all his slaves and attendants having quitted it in dismay. After girding himself with a belt full of gold coins, he took refuge in the porter's lodge; and when his enemies explored the imperial residence, they dragged him from his lurking-place, without knowing who he was, and enquired if he could inform them where Vitellius was concealed. He feigned ignorance as long as it could protect him; but being subsequently recognized, and unable to deny his identity, he besought them to keep him in custody, as he had something to divulge which concerned the safety of Vespasian. Without regarding his disclosures, they fastened his hands behind his back, cast a halter round his neck, tore his clothes, and led him half naked into the forum, heaping upon him every contumely and insult that malice could devise. His head was held back by the hair, as was the custom with criminals, and the point of a sword was placed under his chin, that he might not hide his looks from the public scorn and indignation: some gratified their revenge by casting mud and dung upon him, while others ridiculed his bodily deformities, or reviled him as an incendiary and a gormandizer. Being at last conducted to the Gemonian steps, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had recently lain, he was killed with slow torturing wounds, and his corpse was dragged with a hook into the Tiber. The people, who had lately appeared to sympathize with his misfortunes, and had promised

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(Vitell.) 16, 17.

VITELLIUS, zealously to support his cause, now joined in committing wanton indignities upon his dead body. As he was being led to execution, one of the German soldiers aimed a blow at him, either from resentment, or from a desire of shortening his sufferings; but, instead of alighting upon Vitellius, it cut off the ear of the tribune who accompanied him, and the soldier was immediately stabbed. When this, or some other, tribune cast taunts upon Vitellius, he replied, "I have nevertheless been your emperor:"—the only sentence expressive of courage, that fell from his lips.

Tac. Hist. iii.
67.
Suet. vii.
(Vitell.) 14.

His mother, who was a woman of irreproachable character, had died a few days before him, having experienced nothing from the elevation of her son but grief and alarm. He was suspected of having starved her, in consequence of the assurance of a German woman (whom he regarded as a prophetess), that he would rule long and prosperously, if he survived his mother. Others, however, reported, that a weariness of life, and a dread of approaching calamities, urged her to solicit poison from her son, who granted it without any hesitation.

Vitellius was killed about the twentieth day of December, having reigned less than a twelvemonth from the time of his proclamation at Cologne, and a little more than eight months from the death of Otho. In person he was enormously tall, his abdomen was large, and one of his thighs weak from an accidental injury, while his face, generally suffused with redness, exhibited his devotion to the immoderate pleasures of wine. The only virtues to be found in his character were simplicity and liberality; and the latter of these degenerated into heedless profusion, by which he hoped to attach

friends, rather than by the amiable qualities which command esteem. No man ever had greatness thrust upon him in a more extraordinary manner. Consulships and the highest offices were granted him on account of his father's celebrity; armies that were scarcely acquainted with him, elected him as their emperor, fought for him with determined valour, and were as faithfully attached to him, as if he had been adorned with the most brilliant and exalted virtues. Yet the main characteristic of this emperor was a vice of the most degrading and contemptible nature. As if Providence had intended to show, that the highest dignity and power do not constitute any real criterion of intrinsic merit, it had bestowed the government of the world, in the course of a few years, upon the mad Caligula, the silly Claudius, the fiend-like Nero, the imbecile Galba, the effeminate Otho, and, lastly—upon the *glutton* Vitellius!

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1.
A. D. 68.


THE EMPEROR TITUS FLAVIUS SABINUS VESPASIANUS.

CHAPTER I.

Vespasian's ancestry, employments, exploits and family.—Domitian declared Cæsar.—L. Vitellius killed.—Disturbances in Campania settled.—Mucianus arrives at Rome.—His proceedings.—Discontent of the troops.—L. Piso put to death.—Defeat of the Garamantes.—Rebuilding of the Capitol, &c.—Claudius Celsus excites war among the Batavians.—Is joined by the Canninefates and Frisii.—His success, &c.—Vocula leads the Romans to Gelduba.—Engagements between him and Civilis.—Mutiny of the Romans, and murder of Hordeonius Flaccus.—Revolt of the Treveri and Lingones.—Desertion of the Roman legions.—Vocula killed.—The Prophetess Veleda.—The people of Cologne propitiate her and Civilis.—Sabinus, defeated by the Sequani, pretends to destroy himself.

THE imperial power, after being abused by so many unworthy possessors, had at length fallen into the hands of an experienced commander, who, though not ennobled by his ancestry, was able to wield it with greater dignity and virtue than the degenerate race of the Cæsars. Titus Flavius Ves-

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1.
A. D. 69.
Suet. viii. 1—8.

VESPASIAN, ^{1.}
 A. D. 69.  pasianus had just completed his sixtieth year, when the success of his armies in capturing Rome, and destroying Vitellius, conferred upon him the undisputed sovereignty of the Roman empire. His grandfather Titus Flavius Petronius had been a centurion in Pompey's army at the battle of Pharsalia, and, after fleeing from that disastrous engagement, had exercised the duties of a petty collector in his native town of Reate. His father, named Sabinus, held the office of publican, having to levy the tax of the fortieth part in Asia, and in this invidious post he acquitted himself so blamelessly, that some of the cities erected statues in commemoration of his equity. He afterwards employed his wealth in usury among the Helvetians, in whose country he died, leaving a widow, named Vespasia Polla, and two sons, Sabinus and Vespasian, the former of whom was put to death (as we have related) after the burning of the Capitol, by the very people who, in a few hours more, were going to acknowledge his brother as their sovereign ruler. Whatever dignity there was in the lineage of Vespasian, it was all inherited from the mother's side, who was the daughter of Vespasius Pollio, thrice military tribune and præfect of the camp, while her brother attained the senatorian rank and held the office of prætor. We are also informed, that about six miles from Nursia, which was his mother's native town, there was on the top of a mountain a place called Vespasiæ, where the existence of many monuments attested the splendour and antiquity of the family of the Vespasii; but this celebrity, whether real or fictitious, was not sufficient in the eyes of the Romans to cover the meanness of his paternal descent.

He was born at a small town named Phalacrine,

near Reate, on the seventeenth of November, five years before the death of Augustus. His education was entrusted to his paternal grandmother Tertulla, for whose memory he always cherished an affectionate respect; and after he became emperor, he paid frequent visits to the house at Cosa, in which his early years had been spent. When he arrived at the age of manhood, he showed but little ambition for the senatorian dignity, although his brother had already obtained it; nor could he be induced to sue for such an honour, until he was mortified by Vespasia's reproaches, who sarcastically called him his brother's client. He served as military tribune in Thrace, and discharged successively the duties of quæstor, ædile, and prætor. When he filled the office of ædile, the emperor Caius, offended at the dirty condition of the streets, commanded, that his bosom should be filled with a portion of the mud which he had omitted to remove; and this insult was strangely interpreted by some of the prognosticating Romans as an intimation, that his degraded country would hereafter be cast under his protection. He did not, however, scruple to flatter the sanguinary Caius by proposing, that extraordinary games should be exhibited on account of his ridiculous expedition into Germany, and that the bodies of some conspirators should be denied the rites of burial; and he even returned him thanks in the senate for deigning to invite him to supper!

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 1.
 A. D. 69.

Under the emperor Claudius, he was appointed lieutenant of a legion through the interest of the freedman Narcissus, and was sent into Germany, and afterwards into Britain, where he obtained many victories over the barbarians*. His exploits

* See Chap II. of Claudius.

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1.
A. D. 69.
Tac. Hist. ii. 97.
Suet. viii. 4.

were recompensed with the triumphal honours, and the enjoyment of the consulship for two months of the year. His fear of Agrippina, who was hostile to the friends of Narcissus, induced him to live in retirement, until he received the proconsulship of Africa; and his conduct in this province is differently represented by the Roman historians. It appears to have been more upright than popular; for in a sedition at Adrumetum he was treated with coarse indignity, and the general reputation which he left behind him was by no means so favourable as that which Vitellius had acquired in the same country. He returned from his province so poor, that he was obliged to mortgage his property to his brother, and to undertake some disreputable traffic in beasts of burden, which affixed to him the appellation of the *muleteer*. Being admitted into Nero's retinue, when that emperor visited Greece, he performed the part of a courtier so ill, that he often left the theatre, or fell asleep, while the emperor was singing; and for this disregard of his "divine voice," he was banished from Nero's presence, and condemned to seek retirement, and to brood over the apprehension of being put to death. But during his disgrace the state of affairs in Judæa demanded the presence of an able commander; and, as he possessed all the qualities requisite for war, without any lustre of birth to inspire jealousy, he was sent there towards the end of the year sixty-six. His achievements in that country will be best related in connection with the awful catastrophe which terminated the war. The manner in which he was instigated to aspire to the imperial power has been already described; and the success of his enterprise is considered by Suetonius as the verification of a report which

had been long current in the east, that a sovereign of the world was destined to arise out of Judæa. But this report is believed by Christians to have originated in the expectation which the Jews at that time cherished of the coming of the Messiah, and in the false opinions which they had imbibed respecting his dignity as a temporal prince.

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1.
A. D. 69.

The wife of Vespasian was Flavia Domitilla, a woman of neither high birth, nor pure virtue before she was married. She bore him three children, Titus, Domitianus, and Domitilla; the last of whom, as well as herself, expired before Vespasian attained the sovereign power. After her death he replaced his affections upon Cænis, a freedwoman of Antonia, who had formerly been his concubine, and who enjoyed, when he was emperor, nearly all the privileges of a lawful wife.

Vespasian was at Alexandria when his victorious troops entered Rome; but, on the same day that Vitellius was killed, Domitian emerged from the retreat in which he had been obliged to conceal himself, and, appearing before the soldiers, was saluted with the princely title of *Cæsar*, and installed in the imperial residence. The power, which his novel dignity conferred upon him, was abused in acts of lust and adultery. As soon as the senate was convened, the same honours and privileges were granted to Vespasian as to former emperors. He and Titus were declared consuls for the ensuing year, and the prætorship and the consular authority were voted to Domitian. Various honours were decreed to Mucianus, Antonius Primus, and other eminent leaders in the war. Arrius Varus was appointed prætorian præfect; but the chief authority was placed at present, by the right of victory, in the hands of Primus; yet

Tac. Hist. III.
86; iv. 1—11.

VESPASIAN,

1.
A. D. 69.

neither he, nor the other generals, could restrain the barbarity of the conquering troops, who made an indiscriminate slaughter of the citizens, broke into and plundered their houses, and committed atrocities exceeding those of the Othonian and Vitellian armies.

In order to extinguish the war in Italy, an army was sent against L. Vitellius; but he and his cohorts surrendered themselves without a struggle, and were carried prisoners to Rome. L. Vitellius was put to death, as he had rendered himself as infamous as his brother by his vices, and was considered more formidable on account of the greater energy of his character. Troops were also dispatched into Campania; but as the inhabitants of the several towns were more inimical to one another than to Vespasian, they submitted upon the first appearance of a hostile force.

Dion. lxxvi.

Although Mucianus had not been present at any of the great engagements which decided the fate of the empire, yet he no sooner arrived at Rome, than he absorbed all the power of the state into his own hands. The favour, which he was known to enjoy with Vespasian, easily directed the zeal of the obsequious citizens, and made him the object of their servile adulation. In his retinue and mode of living he exhibited all the pomp, and in his actions he assumed all the power, of a prince, having received (according to Dion) the seal of Vespasian in order to give greater sanction to his decrees. The first exercise of his authority was exceedingly violent, and gave great alarm to the citizens. There was a youth named Calpurnius Galerianus, the son of C. Piso, who had committed no offence, but, in the turbulent state of affairs, had been unfortunately commended as a

person, whose merit qualified him for the most exalted dignity. He was apprehended by the order of Mucianus, and, that his death might be more secret, was conducted forty miles from Rome, and compelled to destroy himself by opening his veins. Asiaticus, the freedman of Vitellius, was put to death as a slave, having deserved such a fate by the abuse of his short-lived power. Of the two late prætorian præfects, Julius Priscus killed himself more from shame than necessity; but Alphenus Varus survived the ignominy which he had incurred by his pusillanimous defence of his master.

VEASPASIAN,
1.
A. D. 69.

At the beginning of the year the consulship was assumed by Vespasian and Titus, while both of them were absent from Rome. Domitian entered upon the prætorship, and his name was prefixed to the public epistles and edicts, though the actual power was engrossed by Mucianus. This general was afraid of the influence of Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, whose recent exploits had gained them the applause of the soldiers, while their forbearance in attacking no one after the cessation of hostilities had ingratiated them with the citizens. As it would have been dangerous to crush Primus openly, Mucianus followed a more insidious course, publicly commending him in the senate, making him secret promises of advancement, and bestowing offices upon his friends; but, while he thus deluded him, he undermined his power by dismissing into winter quarters the seventh legion, which was most warmly attached to him. The third legion, which favoured Arrius Varus, was sent back to Syria: part of the army was dispatched into the Germanic provinces; and when Rome was thus delivered from the presence of many turbulent forces, tranquillity

VEASPASIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 70.
Tac. Hist. iv.
38—50.

VESPASIAN,

1, 2.
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began to revive, and the power of the law to supersede the terror of the sword. It was reported, that Primus had endeavoured to persuade Scribonianus Crassus, a man of illustrious birth, to become a competitor for the supreme power, but that his overtures were rejected.

Upon the motion of Domitian, a decree was passed for paying due honours to the name and memory of Galba; and a similar enactment was made respecting his adopted son Piso, though it was not carried into execution. P. Celer, who had disgraced himself in the time of Nero by accusing the innocent Soranus Barea, was now impeached before the senate by Musonius Rufus, and condemned for that offence. Encouraged by this triumph of justice, the senators commenced various attacks upon the hateful race of public accusers, who had made themselves instrumental to the tyranny of the emperors. An extraordinary oath was framed, which the magistrates and others were required to take, making a solemn appeal to the gods, that they had done nothing to endanger the safety of any man, and that they had received neither reward nor honour for injuring their fellow-citizens. Those, however, who were notoriously guilty, took the oath with certain evasions and subterfuges; but the senate did not fail to express loud abhorrence of their perjury, and compelled some of them by violent threats to withdraw from the assembly. The contest continued with great warmth during the whole day; but, at the next meeting of the senate, after Domitian had made some remarks upon the expediency of allaying anger and resentment, and forgetting the crimes of former days, Mucianus delivered a long harangue in defence of the public accusers. Awed by this opposition, the

senators did not persist in the struggle which they had so fiercely commenced. They had before passed a salutary act, appointing commissioners for the restoration of property that had been plundered during the war, for the curtailment of the public expenses, for the repair of the brazen tablets of laws that had been defaced by age, and for the correction of the *fasti*, in which, by a contemptible adulation, honours and titles were ascribed to persons who never enjoyed them.

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Although many of the troops had been dismissed from Rome, yet a mutiny was nearly excited among those who remained, while they claimed admission into the prætorian guards for the reward of their services. They rejected the lands which were offered them; and, as they became violently importunate, it was at last found necessary to comply with their demand. The public treasury was alleged to be in so exhausted a state, that it was resolved to replenish it by a loan from private individuals. This, although common in modern capitals, was an extraordinary expedient at Rome; and it soon appeared that there was no necessity to carry it into effect. The arrangement of the consulships, which had been made by Vitellius, was annulled, and an honourable funeral was given to Flavius Sabinus.

As the supplies of corn had not arrived from Africa at the beginning of the year, the inhabitants of Rome were terrified with reports respecting an insurrection in that country, although the delay arose not from that cause, but from the severity of the winter. Neither the soldiers nor the natives of the province were friendly to Vespasian, and an equal want of zeal was ascribed, though not upon sufficient grounds, to the proconsul L. Piso.

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Mucianus, exercising the same summary justice as he had used against Galerianus, who was the cousin and son-in-law of Piso, dispatched a centurion with directions to put him to death. Piso was apprised of the sanguinary order, and was exhorted to resist it by openly rebelling, and putting himself at the head of the Vitellian party; but, after commanding the centurion to be executed, he secluded himself, and carefully checked the ebullition of the Carthaginians in his favour. His forbearance, however, was unavailing; for Valerius Festus, who commanded the legion in Africa, and who was suspected of having secretly enticed him to rebel, sent a body of cavalry for the purpose of slaying him. They forced their way at day-break into the house of the proconsul, and, meeting a slave not far from his chamber, asked him which was Piso, and where he was to be found. With ready and devoted fidelity he replied that he himself was Piso, and was immediately killed; but his generous falsehood did not save his master, who was soon afterwards recognized by Bebius Massa, one of the party. Festus punished some of the soldiers, as adherents of Piso, and probably affected greater zeal in crushing the alleged conspiracy, because he was anxious for his own safety, being related by marriage to Vitellius. He afterwards interposed in the war between the people of Oea and Leptis. The former had allied themselves with the Garamantes, and committed great depredations in the country of their enemies; but Festus, having routed the Garamantes, stripped them of their booty, and (according to Pliny) found the shortest way of penetrating into their country.

Plin. v. 5.

Tac. Hist. iv.
53.
Suet. viii. 8.
Dion. lxvi.

At Rome the restitution of the Capitol was confided to L. Vestinus, a man of equestrian rank, and of great reputation and authority. The cere-

mony commenced on the twenty-first of June, when all the space, on which the temple was to be erected, was surrounded with crowns and garlands. Soldiers who had the good fortune to have auspicious names* entered first, carrying branches of such trees as were pleasing to the gods: the Vestal virgins, following with children who had lost neither father nor mother, made a lustration with water drawn from fountains and rivers. After the ground had been purified by the sacrifice of a pig, a ram, and a bull, the prætor, Helvidius Priscus, offered a prayer to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva for the successful completion of the building: the rest of the magistrates, the priests, the senators, knights, and a great multitude of people, then dragged in a huge stone with emulous joy, and threw into the foundation of the temple the ore of gold, silver, and other metals, which had never been submitted to the furnace. The soothsayers commanded that no marble nor gold, which had been destined for other purposes, should be employed in the sacred edifice; nor did they allow any deviation from the plan of the old temple, except a greater altitude of the walls. It is evident from the history of Tacitus, that Vespasian was not present at this ceremony, although both Suetonius and Dion relate that he animated the citizens by his example in being the first to carry away part of the excavated earth. It is probable, therefore, that the work was not far advanced when he returned to Rome, and that he showed his zeal in accelerating it after the foundation was commenced†. Three thousand brazen tablets had been destroyed by the conflagration; and as they contained important records, embracing, almost

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* Such as Salvius, Felix, and others.

† This is the opinion of M. Tillemont.

VESPASIAN, from the foundation of the city, the decrees of the senate, and the acts of the people, respecting alliances, treaties, and other subjects, Vespasian caused them to be restored from copies procured with diligent search from all parts of the empire.

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Jos. Bell. Jud.
vii. 4.
Tac. Hist. iv.
54.

The Sarmatians, having crossed the Danube, made an unexpected attack upon the Romans, and after slaughtering many of them, together with their commander Fonteius Agrippa, proceeded to ravage the province of Moesia. Rubrius Gallus was sent by Vespasian to take the command of the troops. He defeated the barbarians in several engagements, and, having compelled them to flee into their own country, established many strong fortifications upon the banks of the Danube. The Dacians appear to have taken part in this invasion, and Pannonia as well as Moesia was overrun by the enemy.

Tac. Hist. iv.
12, &c.

A much more obstinate and formidable war had been excited by the Batavians. These were of German extraction, having originally been part of the Catti; but, being driven from home by intestine sedition, they had settled in an insular situation, formed by the ocean and the branches of the Rhine, the limits of which are not strictly ascertained. Although subjected to the power of the Romans, they were free from the payment of tribute, and were only required to furnish troops, which were commanded by their own nobles. Their cohorts had acquired renown in the Germanic and British wars, and had contributed to the success of the armies of Vitellius; but their behaviour had been so turbulent, that that emperor had ordered them to quit Italy: whereupon they fixed their quarters at Mogontiacum*.

* Ments.

Among the most eminent of the Batavians were Julius Paullus, and Claudius Civilis, both of whom were descendants of the regal family. Paullus had been put to death by Fonteius Capito, upon a false charge of rebellion: Civilis had been sent in chains to Nero, and had received his liberation from Galba. He incurred the suspicions of the Germanic legions, when they proclaimed Vitellius emperor; and, although he was allowed to escape from their fury, he continued to cherish a deep indignation against the oppression of the Romans. He had sufficient skill and ability for the great enterprise which he meditated, and proudly compared himself to Sertorius and Hannibal, because he was disfigured, like those great generals, with the loss of one eye. Considering that he would be attacked as an enemy by all parties of the Romans, if he excited his countrymen to open revolt, he resolved to veil his designs by a pretended adherence to the cause of Vespasian. He had received letters from Antonius Primus, advising him to kindle a war, and prevent any succours from marching to Vitellius; and Hordeonius Flaccus, the commander in Upper Germany, favoured the project, as he was desirous that Vespasian should be successful, and that Italy should not be devastated by a fresh irruption of troops.

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Civilis, therefore, anxious to effect the liberty of his country amidst the anarchy which agitated all parts of the Roman empire, obstructed the levy of troops that Vitellius, in the year sixty-nine, commanded to be made for the reinforcement of his armies. This enlistment, which in its own nature was grievous enough to the Batavians, was rendered doubly exasperating to them by the avarice and licentiousness of the officers who carried it into effect. They were excited, therefore, by their

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chiefs to resist it; and Civilis, having assembled the most zealous of his countrymen in a sacred wood, under pretence of a feast, addressed them, as soon as they were animated by nocturnal merriment, upon the glorious achievements of their ancestors, and the degradation to which they were condemned by the insolence of their oppressors. He assured them, that the Roman Empire was never in a more afflicted state; that there were none but weak and decrepit troops left in their winter quarters; but that the Batavians had powerful forces both of cavalry and infantry, and would be assisted by their kinsmen the Germans, and also by the Gauls; that, even if they were unsuccessful in war, they could impute their insurrection to a zeal for Vespasian, but if they were victorious, they would be accountable to no one. This appeal was heard with enthusiasm, and Civilis sent messengers to the neighbouring people of the Canninefates, and to the eight Batavian cohorts at Mogontiacum, soliciting their co-operation in the war which was about to commence.

The Canninefates, whose origin and language were similar to those of the Batavians, promptly acceded to the invitation, and chose for their leader Brinno, a man of heedless valour, who, according to a custom of the barbarians, was installed in his dignity by being placed on a shield, and elevated upon the shoulders of his attendants. He was immediately joined by the Frisii; and, making a sudden attack upon two Roman cohorts, he took their camp and plundered it. The Romans set fire to their forts, being unable to defend them, and retreated in dismay to the upper part of the island, with an army chiefly composed of raw auxiliaries, because the best troops had been transported into

Italy. Civilis, dissembling with the Romans, offered with a small force to suppress the insurrection of the Canninefates; but when his treachery was suspected, he openly placed himself at the head of the Batavians and their allies, and drew up their joint forces not far from the Rhine. In the middle of his engagement with the Romans, a cohort of the Tungri deserted to his standard, and secured him the victory on land. On the river, where the Romans had stationed four-and-twenty vessels, similar treachery occurred; for the Batavians, who composed part of the rowers, first slackened their efforts, and then proceeded to active opposition, until all the vessels were either captured or dispersed in flight.

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This victory so greatly augmented the renown of the Batavians, that they were extolled throughout Gaul and Germany as the champions of liberty, and the inhabitants of the latter country immediately sent a deputation, offering them succours. Hordeonius Flaccus, who had connived at the first attempts of Civilis, was now constrained to dispatch some troops against him under the command of Mummius Lupercus. Among the forces that marched with this lieutenant was a squadron of Batavian cavalry, which pretended to remain faithful to the Romans, but, when the action commenced, deserted the left wing and fought against them. The Ubii and Treveri, who were also among the auxiliaries of Lupercus, fled with disgraceful precipitation, and his legions, abandoned on all sides, were obliged to seek refuge in a camp stationed upon the Rhine, and called Vetera.

In the mean time, the Batavian cohorts at Mogontiacum had received orders from Vitellius

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to march into Italy; but, being overtaken by the messenger of Civilis, they resolved, in contempt of Flaccus, to proceed into Lower Germany, and join their countrymen. Flaccus, after much irresolution, did not venture to oppose them; but he wrote to Herennius Gallus, who commanded the first legion at Bonna, enjoining him to resist their progress, and afterwards weakly revoked his orders. This vacillation naturally created a suspicion, that the war was fomented by the treachery of the Roman commanders. When the Batavians approached Bonna, they sent notice to Herennius Gallus, informing him, that they desired to return peaceably to their country, and to molest no one unless they were attacked; but his troops urged him to try the fortune of battle, and, rushing impetuously from the camp, endeavoured to surround them. The Batavians, though inferior in number, were skilled in the practice of war, and not only resisted the onset of the Romans, but broke their line, and drove them back to their camp with considerable slaughter. They pursued their march without any further molestation, and adhered to the declarations which they made of abstaining from all acts of aggression.

After the arrival of these veteran cohorts, Civilis found himself at the head of a regular army; but, maintaining his former policy of appearing not to revolt from the Romans, he allowed his troops to swear obedience to Vespasian. He sent ambassadors to the two legions that had fled into Vetera, requiring them to take the same oath; but an answer was returned, that they intended to preserve their allegiance to their prince Vitellius, and that a Batavian deserter ought not to assume the authority of an umpire in Roman affairs. Pro-

voked by this insulting retort, he led all the Batavian troops, and a great many Germans, to the assault of Vetera; but, although the camp was partly on level ground, and was defended only by five thousand regular troops, it was impregnable to barbarians, who, however courageous, were inexperienced in the use of the necessary engines of war. They relinquished, therefore, for the present, all hope of taking it by force, but trusted that it would soon be surrendered to them either from want of provisions, or the treachery of some of its defenders.

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As soon as Flaccus was informed of the siege of Vetera, he commanded one of his lieutenants, Dillius Vocola, to march as quickly as possible with a detachment of troops along the bank of the Rhine. He himself, disqualified for any dangerous crisis by the weakness of old age and the timidity of his character, was openly reproached by the soldiers as betraying the cause of Vitellius by his insidious hostility. With such suspicions against their commander, and with minds exasperated by want of pay and provisions, and alarmed by the decrease of the waters of the Rhine, which they attributed to the anger of the gods, the Romans did not venture to attack Civilis, but pitched their camp at Gelduba. Not far from this place they had an engagement with the Germans for the possession of a vessel laden with corn; and, being defeated, they imputed their ill fortune to the treachery of Herennius Gallus, whom they dragged from his tent, beat, and put in chains. He was liberated by Vocola, and, on the following day, the perpetrators of the outrage were put to death; but the army was weakened by disunion and tumult, the

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common soldiers continuing firm in their attachment to Vitellius, while the more eminent persons were disposed to favour Vespasian. Civilis, in the mean time, supported by the succours of all Germany, devastated the country around him, and especially the territory of the Ubii, who were objects of his most bitter vengeance, because they had forgotten their German origin, and allowed themselves to be called by the Roman name of Agrippinenses. He made another attack upon Vetera, and continued it during the darkness of night; but his troops, notwithstanding their multitude, were repulsed.

The war had proceeded thus far before the battle of Cremona, and, when letters came from Primus announcing this event, the Gallic auxiliaries, who had no interest in prolonging the fury of civil contest, immediately forsook Vitellius. The veteran soldiers were less disposed to submit; but, at the command of Hordeonius Flaccus, and the instigation of the other officers, they took the oath to Vespasian, although in a murmuring and reluctant manner. Alpinus Montanus, of the nation of the Treveri, and one of the Vitellians who had surrendered at Cremona, was sent to Civilis to inform him, that it was necessary now to lay down his arms; for if his design had been to assist Vespasian, it was fully accomplished. Civilis, after dissembling for a short time, endeavoured to inspire Montanus with the same animosity against the Romans as inflamed his own bosom; he expatiated upon the successes which he had gained over their legions, and declared, that he would not quietly abandon the enterprise, which he had begun, of achieving the liberty of his country. Montanus departed with the object of his embassy frustrated, and the war

now assumed the character of an open struggle between the Batavians and Romans.

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Part of his forces, which Civilis dispatched against Gelduba, arrived there so unexpectedly, that the Roman commander had not time to arrange his troops for the battle. The Batavians, therefore, were gaining an easy victory, when they were attacked in rear by a body of Vascones *, for whom Vocula had sent, and whose sudden appearance enabled him to rout his enemies. Various engagements were afterwards fought between the two armies. The siege of Vetera was raised and then renewed: Gelduba was taken by Civilis, and his cavalry gained a victory not far from Novesium. The Roman troops, from whom the most zealous efforts were necessary for the subjugation of a bold and active enemy, were disunited by their hatred and suspicion of their generals. Having heard that some money had been sent by Vitellius, they demanded a largess: Hordeonius granted them one in the name of Vespasian, and, after spending it in riot, they began by general invective to inflame each other's anger against their commanders. In the darkness of night they proceeded to the tent of Hordeonius, and, while none of the officers offered any opposition, they dragged him from his bed and murdered him. Vocula would have suffered equal violence, if he had not escaped in the disguise of a slave. Being without a leader, they abandoned themselves to indolence and disorder, and fled in trepidation at the approach of Civilis. They caused the statues of Vitellius to be restored, although he was now dead; but at last, wearied by their own dissensions, they again placed them-

* Gascons.

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Tac. Hist. iv.
54, &c.

As soon as the death of Vitellius was known, the Gauls, whom Civilis had before invited to throw off the Roman yoke, began to think, that the crisis had arrived, in which it would be expedient for them to yield to his proposals. A rumour was propagated respecting the incursion of the Sarmatians and Dacians into the Roman provinces: Britain was alleged to be in a state of insurrection; but nothing was considered so certain a sign of the approaching ruin of the empire, as the conflagration of the Capitol. The sacred temple of Jupiter had been preserved, even when the Gauls captured Rome, and its present destruction was ascribed by the Druids to the anger of the gods, and declared to be an intimation that the Transalpine nations would become masters of the world. The principal leader of the insurrection was a man named Classicus, eminent for his nobility and power, and præfect of the cavalry of the Treveri. He was supported by Julius Tutor, whom Vitellius had entrusted with the defence of the bank of the Rhine, and by Julius Sabinus, who had the weak vanity to pretend that he was descended from Julius Cæsar by an adulterous intrigue of his great grandmother, during the Gallic wars of that conqueror. These three chiefs induced the Treveri and Lingones to revolt by representing to them the civil discord of the Roman people, the slaughter and dispersion of their legions, and the facility with which the Gauls might seize the Alps, establish their freedom, and

extend their power to whatever limits they pleased. In concerting their plans, they deliberated whether they should not massacre all the remains of the Vitellian army; but they at last agreed, that it would be more prudent to kill the commanders only, and to entice the men to desert the Roman standard, and join their confederacy.

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Vocula was not altogether ignorant of their designs; but, as he could not resist them with open force, on account of the seditious disposition of his troops, he was obliged to practise dissimulation. Being enticed by the Gauls to march against the enemy, he had arrived within a short distance from Vetera, when Classicus and Tutor, under pretence of reconnoitring, went in advance of the army, and concluded a treacherous compact with the German chiefs. The Treveri and Lingones, who were under their command, openly seceded from the Romans, and fortified themselves in a separate camp; and although Vocula vehemently exclaimed against such perfidy, and exhorted the legions not to allow themselves to become a derision to their former allies, he was compelled to retreat to Novesium. The Gauls took their station in some plains about two miles distant, and were there visited by the Roman centurions and soldiers, who, with a baseness that has scarcely any parallel, deliberately sold themselves to their barbarian deserters, and stipulated for the blood and imprisonment of their own officers. Vocula, although advised to flee, boldly but ineffectually remonstrated with them, upon the ignominy of Roman soldiers betraying themselves into the hands of the Treveri and Lingones! To escape from so disgraceful a scene, he had resolved to die by his own hand; but, while his slaves and freedmen thwarted his purpose, Classicus sent a

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deserter who put him to death. The two lieutenants, Herennius and Numisius, were loaded with chains: after which, Classicus, assuming the insignia of Roman authority, marched into the camp, and compelled the Roman soldiers to take a new and extraordinary oath, by which they swore to defend the *Empire of the Gauls*! The same oath was administered by Tutor to the inhabitants of Cologne, and to the soldiers of Upper Germany; and some of the tribunes at Mogontiacum were killed, and the præfect of the camp was expelled, for daring to refuse it.

The troops in Vetera, who had so resolutely defended themselves against all attacks of their besiegers, were now overcome by the most distressing famine. After having devoured their horses and beasts of burden, and prolonged their existence by feeding on every root and herb that could be found, they sent messengers to Civilis imploring his mercy. Their lives were spared on condition that they took the new oath, and surrendered all the property in the camp; but the terms even of this disgraceful capitulation were not observed, for the Germans attacked them as they departed from the camp, killed many on the spot, and dispersed the rest. The camp was plundered and set on fire, and all who had taken refuge there were destroyed. The sixteenth legion and the auxiliaries that had surrendered at Novesium were ordered to march to Treves, and were joined by another legion from Bonna. The inhabitants of the country, who had hitherto trembled at the name of the Romans, assembled with malignant triumph to enjoy the spectacle of their degradation. The legions quietly submitted to the ignominy which was the recompence of their treachery and cowardice; but a

squadron of cavalry, called the Picentine, provoked by the insolence of the populace, and by their own bitter reflections, separated themselves and marched to Mogontiacum instead of Treves. Having accidentally met *Æmilius Longinus*, the deserter who had slain *Vocula*, they overwhelmed him with their darts, and thus offered the first atonement for the infatuation which had seized the Roman armies.

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Civilis, in fulfilment of a vow, which the Germans were accustomed to make, cut off the long hair of his head, as soon as he had captured *Vetera*. He is said to have treated some of his prisoners with wanton cruelty, by exposing them, as marks, to be pierced by the arrows and darts of his young son. *Mummius Lupercus*, lieutenant of one of the Roman legions, was sent (among other presents) to *Veleda*, the German prophetess. She was a virgin of the nation of the *Bructeri*, and as she had predicted the success which had attended the insurrection of the *Batavians*, her fame and authority were greatly enhanced. *Tacitus* relates, that the Germans were in the habit of regarding many of their women as prophetic characters, and afterwards, by an increase of superstitious veneration, adored them as goddesses. The sanctity of *Veleda* did not protect *Lupercus* from being murdered on the road.

Notwithstanding the successes of the Gauls, neither *Civilis*, nor any of the *Batavians*, submitted to take the oath to them, as he was confident in his own strength, and had no intention of acknowledging the supremacy of his allies. It was deliberated between him and *Classicus*, whether they should gratify the rapacity of their troops, by surrendering the rich city of *Cologne* to be plundered. Besides the impolicy of establishing their empire by so

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barbarous an act, Civilis was bound by gratitude to protect the inhabitants, who, at the commencement of the war, had guarded his son in an honourable manner. The nations, however, beyond the Rhine were jealous of, and incensed at, the people of Cologne, and desired either to witness the destruction of the place, or to convert it into a settlement for all the Germans. The Tencteri sent a deputation, requiring, that the inhabitants should destroy their walls, and slaughter all the Romans in their territories. In answer to this sanguinary proposal, the citizens offered free commerce and intercourse to all the Germans, and, submitting the arbitration of the question to Civilis and Veleda, procured by means of gifts a decision in their own favour. In issuing her oracles, the prophetic virgin was elevated in a tower, and one of her relatives, acting as mediator, carried the questions to her and reported her answers, while all other persons were carefully excluded from addressing or beholding her.

While Civilis, by arms or by treaty, had induced most of the northern states of Gaul to join the confederacy against the Romans, Julius Sabinus, the commander of the Lingones, had by no means been equally successful. Having ordered himself to be saluted with the title of *Cæsar*, he led a great and disorderly multitude of his countrymen against the neighbouring people of the Sequani, who did not decline his offer of battle. The Lingones were routed, and Sabinus, fleeing from the engagement as precipitately as he had commenced it, took refuge in a villa, and set it on fire, in order that it might be supposed he had perished; he survived, however, for nine years, and his subsequent fate will be related in its proper place. The resist-

ance offered by the Sequani gave the other states of Gaul time to deliberate upon the nature and danger of that war, which was kindling around them; and the Remi, taking the lead, invited the cities to send deputies to a general assembly, in order to determine whether they should choose liberty or peace.

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CHAPTER II.

Mucianus deposes Arrius Varus, and prepares for the war against the Gauls.—The Remi and other nations of Gaul refuse to join the alliance against the Romans.—Tutor is defeated at Bingium.—Cerialis defeats and captures Valentinus, enters Treves, and pardons the legions that had deserted.—Is attacked by the barbarians, and, after being nearly defeated, victoriously destroys their camp.—The people of Cologne exterminate a German cohort, and implore the protection of the Romans.—Valentinus put to death, and Domitian eluded by the artifices of Mucianus.—The Germans having pitched their camp at Vetera, are routed in consequence of the treachery of a Batavian deserter.—Civilis and Cerialis are nearly made prisoners in different engagements.—Civilis, driven beyond the Rhine, at last submits to the Romans.—The son of Vitellius is put to death, and Antonius Primus is disparaged in the estimation of the Emperor.—Vespasian at Alexandria declines the succours of the Parthians, is incensed against Domitian, and sends supplies of corn to Rome.—Is said to effect the cure of two diseased persons.—Remarks upon these alleged miracles.

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Tac. Hist. iv.
68, &c.

MUCIANUS, receiving exaggerated accounts of the insurrection of the Batavians and Gauls, was filled with more than ordinary anxiety, as he dreaded secret factions at home, as well as open hostilities abroad. His jealousy of Antonius Primus, and

Arrius Varus, induced him to remove the latter from his post of prætorian præfect; but, in order to soften his resentment, he gave him the office of præfect of provisions, which was sometimes held by persons of great dignity. Arretinus Clemens, who was related by marriage to Vespasian, and enjoyed the favour of Domitian, was invested with the command of the prætorian troops, and the appointment was not displeasing to the soldiers, as his father had held it with considerable reputation under the emperor Caius. He was a person of senatorian rank, although it had hitherto been the custom to bestow the office upon knights only. But the greatest delicacy and skill were required on the part of Mucianus, in order to controul the youthful Domitian, who, disregarding the advice of his father's friends, had resolved to proceed on the Gallic expedition, with the hope of rivalling the military exploits of his brother Titus. Mucianus, therefore, was obliged to accompany him, but delayed his journey by all possible contrivances, lest he should presume to take the command of the army, and by his temerity and inexperience embarrass all the operations of the war. Roman forces, to the amount of seven legions, were ordered to march into Gaul, and the chief command was given to Petilius Cerialis, a bold and enterprising general.

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The Gallic deputies, who had been invited by the Remi to assemble, were disposed to peaceful counsels both by their own inclinations, and by intelligence of the approach of the Roman legions. Tullius Valentinus, who was sent as ambassador from the Treveri, was the most zealous and eloquent advocate for war; but, while his patriotic ardour was applauded, his advice was outweighed by the

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representations of those, who descanted upon the danger of attacking the formidable power of the Romans. It was not forgotten, that the Treveri and Lingones had opposed the attempts of Vindex for the liberation of Gaul in the time of Nero ; and it was evident to many, that if their country was emancipated from the Romans, it would be agitated by the violent struggles of their different provinces and leaders, each contending for the pre-eminence. The fear, therefore, of the future, made them satisfied with their present condition, and letters were sent to the Treveri, in the name of the Gallic states, advising them to lay down their arms and sue for pardon, which might be obtained by the intercession of their countrymen. The eloquence of Valentinus, who was more active in haranguing for war than in preparing for it, induced the Treveri to reject this humiliating proposal.

The insurgent states did not make those powerful efforts, nor did their leaders act with that prudence and unanimity, which were essential in a crisis of such imminent danger. Civilis was traversing the Belgic province in pursuit of one of his enemies : Classicus indulged in remissness and sloth, as if victory had been already achieved ; and Tutor delayed to fortify the banks of the Rhine, and guard the passes of the Alps. The last of these chiefs took his station at Bingium with the forces of the Treveri, thinking himself safe in the protection of a river, the bridge over which had been broken down ; but he was attacked by some cohorts under Sextilius Felix, who forded the river, and put him to flight. The Treveri were alarmed by this defeat ; and while the people abandoned their arms and straggled through the country, some of their leaders, wishing to be the first to

propitiate the Romans, fled into the cities that had not joined the rebellion. The Roman legions, that had so ignominiously surrendered at Novesium and Bonna, voluntarily took the oath to Vespasian, and afterwards, leaving Treves, marched into the country of the Mediomatrici. Valentinus and Tutor reassembled the forces of the Treveri, and put to death the Roman lieutenants, Herennius and Numisius, in order to make their soldiers more desperate, by destroying the hope of any reconciliation with their enemies.

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Cerialis, having arrived at Mogontiacum, was eager for battle, and inspired others with that confidence of success, which he himself entertained. He marched, with all the forces that he could collect, to Rigodulum, where Valentinus, with a great multitude of the Treveri, had chosen a position surrounded by mountains and the river Moselle, and defended by ditches and fortifications. Cerialis, considering that the superior valour and discipline of his troops would fully compensate for the local advantages of the enemy, commanded them to begin the attack on all sides; and, though they were obstructed by the steepness of the ground, and the missiles of the Treveri, they precipitated them from the heights like a mass of ruins*, as soon as they came to close engagement. Part of the cavalry, ascending by more gentle acclivities, surrounded the Belgian nobles and made them prisoners, together with the general, Valentinus. On the following day, Cerialis entered Treves, the soldiers demanding that the city should be destroyed, as being the birth-place of Classicus and Tutor, who had been the authors of so much ignominy to the Roman legions; but he allayed

* Ruinæ modo præcipitantur.

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their anger, and refused to sanction so deliberate an act of revengeful rapine. The Treveri and Lingones experienced great clemency from him, as he merely convened them, and endeavoured to prove, that the Romans had taken possession of Gaul not for their own aggrandizement, but to protect it against the attacks of the Germans; that they had imposed no heavier tribute than would pay the armies necessary for its defence; and that, if they were driven from the country, the inhabitants would be immediately invaded by all the surrounding nations. He showed equal lenity to the degraded legions who had taken refuge among the Mediomatrici. These, when summoned, appeared before him with downcast looks, and with such a consciousness of their own abject disgrace, as moved the compassion of their victorious countrymen, and constrained them to intercede, not with audible entreaties, but with silent tears, for the forgiveness of so afflicted a band. Cerialis generously assuaged their poignant feelings, ascribing their misfortunes to some unhappy fate, and promising, that they should begin their service afresh, and that neither their emperor nor himself would preserve any recollection of their past offences. They were then admitted into the same camp as the other troops, and an edict was issued, forbidding any soldier to upbraid his comrade with the events of the past sedition.

Tac. Hist. iv.
75.

After the capture of Treves, Civilis and Clasicus sent letters to Cerialis, offering him the empire of the Gauls, or, if he declined their proposal, challenging him to battle. He did not deign to return them any answer, but sent their messenger to Domitian. He was blamed for allowing

the chiefs to unite their forces, instead of engaging them singly. After they had effected their junction, Civilis gave his opinion, that they should wait for the arrival of the German forces; but Tutor and Classicus advised, that they should attack the Romans without delay. They, accordingly, marched to Treves, and arrived there so unexpectedly, that Cerialis was in bed, when he received intelligence that a battle had begun, and that his troops were nearly overpowered. The enemy had broken into the Roman camp, routed the cavalry, and taken possession of the bridge over the Moselle; but, instead of being dismayed by their sudden success, Cerialis boldly rushed with his body uncovered into the midst of their weapons, and by his own desperate valour, and that of some brave companions, succeeded in retaking the bridge. He afterwards hastened to the camp, where his men were fleeing in terror and confusion before their assailants. He reproached them for their cowardice, and declared, that he would die alone, if they refused to follow their commander; but, though their courage was revived by his example, they found it difficult to rally themselves amidst the incumbrances of their tents and baggage. The battle was nearly lost, when the twenty-first legion, having more space to form their ranks than the rest, vigorously maintained their ground, and at last returned the attack of the enemy. The barbarians, terrified by the sight of the cohorts, and imagining that the Romans had received some fresh succours, turned their backs and fled; but one of the greatest obstacles to their victory was the rapacious eagerness, with which they had dispersed themselves to gather the spoils of the Roman camp. Cerialis, having repaired, by his

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intrepidity, the nearly fatal effects of his late remissness, pursued his advantages by taking, and destroying, the encampment of the barbarians, on the same day.

Not long afterwards, the people of Cologne implored his protection, and offered to surrender to him the relatives of Civilis and Classicus, left in their custody. Repenting of the alliance, which they had been compelled to make with the insurgents, they destroyed a German cohort stationed in their city, by closing and setting fire to the houses, where the men had fallen asleep after a revelry. Civilis marched to take revenge upon them, but was anticipated by Cerialis. The Canninefates attacked the Roman fleet that came from Britain, and captured or destroyed the greater part of the vessels; they also routed a multitude of the Nervii, that had voluntarily taken up arms in the cause of the Romans. Classicus was successful in a skirmish with the cavalry, which Cerialis had sent forward to Novesium; and these petty victories of the barbarians were some reparation to them for their late signal defeats.

Tac. Hist. iv.
85, 86.

Mucianus and Domitian had not arrived at the Alps, when they were informed of the success of the Roman arms against the Treveri. Valentinus, the captured chief, was led into their presence, and condemned to death; but his countenance, and whole demeanour, indicated, that his spirit was unconquered; and when some one endeavoured to insult him by observing, that his country was vanquished, he replied, "Then it will be less grievous for me to die." Mucianus had now such a specious pretext, as he had long desired, for delaying the progress of Domitian. Affecting a deep concern for his dignity, he observed, that it

would scarcely become the son of the emperor to interfere in a war which was almost finished; that the Batavians and their allies were not such enemies, as deserved his presence in the field of battle; that he had better display his princely authority at Lyons, where, without mingling in the perils of petty warfare, he would be ready to march if any great emergency should arise. Domitian, although he was sensible of the artifice practised upon him, tacitly submitted to his counsellor. It was believed, that while he was at Lyons, he sent secret messengers to Cerialis, inquiring whether he would surrender to him the chief command, in case he visited the army. Cerialis, instead of giving any direct reply, evaded the proposal, as originating merely in boyish vanity; nor was it known, whether Domitian entertained any serious projects against the authority either of his father or brother. He might, probably, have desired nothing more than to revenge himself upon Mucianus; but, as soon as he found that he was baffled by all parties, he disguised his character under a great appearance of simplicity and modesty, and, neglecting all duties of the state, pretended to devote himself to literature, and the cultivation of the muses.

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Civilis, having recruited his army by reinforcements from Germany, pitched his camp at Vetera, hoping, that the remembrance of his late achievements there would stimulate the courage of his troops. Cerialis, being strengthened by the arrival of some fresh legions, followed him thither; and an irregular engagement ensued, which local circumstances turned to the advantage of the Batavians. The ground was naturally marshy, and Civilis, by impeding the course of the Rhine, inundated all the adjacent plains. In these floods, the Romans, on

Tac. Hist. v.
14, &c.

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^{A. D. 70.} account of the weight of their arms, and their timidity in swimming, were but little able to contend with the German soldiers, who were lightly armed, and moreover bold and expert swimmers. They were provoked, however, to make the trial, and, after losing their men and horses in the unequal struggle, returned to the camp full of indignation and shame. Cerialis, eager to obliterate the disgrace of such a repulse, drew up his men on the following day for a general engagement, nor were the barbarians less ready to meet him. His first line, consisting of light troops, was thrown into confusion, when he ordered his legions to advance, and the battle was equal on both sides. At this juncture, a Batavian deserter promised him, that he would lead a body of cavalry to the rear of the enemy, where the ground was firm, and they were unprepared for attacks. Two squadrons, given him for this purpose, fell unexpectedly upon the Germans, while the legions made a vigorous onset in front. The barbarians were routed, and fled to the Rhine, where, had the Roman vessels quickly pursued them, they might have been almost exterminated; but even the cavalry forbore to follow them, on account of a sudden fall of rain, and the approach of night.

Civilis, although he received some succours from the Chauci, thought it necessary to retreat into the Batavian island, where he destroyed the mole that had been built by Drusus Germanicus, and allowed the river to overflow the neighbouring country. He sent Tutor, and many senators of the Treveri, to procure assistance from the Germans, and assembled such a force, that he ventured in one day to attack four different camps of the Romans, stationed along the Rhine. None of his assaults

were finally successful; and in that which he himself conducted, his troops were driven into the river, and he was obliged to leave his horse, and save his life by swimming. Cerialis, on the other hand, whose carelessness and temerity were equal to his valour and good fortune, was nearly captured by the Germans a few days afterwards. He had gone to visit the winter quarters, which were being erected at Novesium and Bonna, and was returning down the Rhine, when the Germans, observing his want of vigilance, entered his encampment without opposition, during a dark and cloudy night. They began to massacre his troops, and, cutting the ropes, to bury them under their own tents. Part attacked his vessels, and especially the galley in which they thought that he himself was reposing; but he had spent the night in some other quarter, apparently in pursuit of his amours, and, being roused from his sleep, was able to make a hasty escape. Few of his soldiers had time to array themselves in their armour; but, seizing their swords, and wrapping part of their dress round their arms, they defended their lives as well as the emergency would allow. The Germans, after their successful attack, did not retire till day had broken, and, among other prizes, carried with them the general's galley, which was sent as a present to the prophetess Velede.

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Civilis, with a view of intercepting the supplies which the Romans received from Gaul, prepared a naval armament; but it was of little service to him, and he was compelled to abandon his country, and retreat beyond the Rhine. Cerialis devastated the Batavian island, which in a short time was overflowed by the winter rains, and the inundation of the river. While it was in this condition, the

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Romans, being without a fleet or provisions, and almost without a camp, might have been overwhelmed by their enemies, if Civilis, according to his own allegation, had not restrained the Germans from the attack. His motive for such forbearance was, that he was now meditating a surrender, and was anxious to conciliate the favour of the Romans. Cerialis, by secret communications, had offered pardon to him, and peace to the Batavians; he had, also, urged Velea and her relations to exert their authority over the Germans, and advise them to terminate a war which had hitherto been unsuccessful to them, and would soon inflict upon them still greater calamities. These representations were not ineffectual, and Civilis, weary of a harassing warfare, and desirous of saving his life, sought a conference with the Roman commander. In consequence of their interview, hostilities ceased between the belligerents; but the precise manner of arranging the peace is unknown, because the remainder of the history of Tacitus is unfortunately lost. We learn from another portion of that writer's works, that Velea finished her prophetic career by being led captive to Rome, in the time of the emperor Vespasian; but, as the Germans appear to have submitted voluntarily, it is not certain that this degradation of their prophetess was one of the immediate effects of the present war.

Tac. Germ. 8.

Tac. Hist. iv.
80.

During the revolt of the Batavians, Mucianus had ordered the son of Vitellius to be put to death, alleging, that his destruction was necessary, in order to prevent all hope of reviving the flames of civil discord. He would not allow Antonius Primus to attach himself to the court of Domitian, being afraid of the popularity enjoyed by him among the soldiers, and of the arrogance which

made him impatient of all rivalry. Primus departed from Rome in order to pay his respects to Vespasian, and experienced a reception, which, though not ungracious, was far from equalling his sanguine expectations. Although it could not be denied, that his vigour and rapidity had accelerated the termination of the war, yet Vespasian was in some degree estranged from him by the letters of Mucianus, and the disparaging representations of others. His own conduct did not remove the unfavourable impression; for he spoke contemptuously of the services of others, and was too boastful in commemorating his own achievements. He, therefore, gradually declined in the estimation of the emperor, who continued, however, to treat him with an appearance of friendship.

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Vespasian seems to have remained at Alexandria until about the middle of this year. Many persons of all ranks, braving the perils of a wintry sea, had sailed from Italy, in order to apprise him of the death of Vitellius, and congratulate him upon the acquisition of the imperial power. He, also, received ambassadors from the Parthian king, Vologeses, offering him the assistance of forty thousand cavalry. Highly gratified by such kindness, and by the good fortune which prevented the necessity of accepting it, he returned thanks to Vologeses, and requested him to send ambassadors to the senate, in order that he might be assured, that the Roman empire was at peace. Grieved at the unfavourable accounts received of the conduct of Domitian, who was accused of exceeding the limits of that indulgence, which might reasonably be granted to his station and youth, he is said to have reproved his immoderate presumption by a sarcastic letter in the following

Tac. Hist. iv.
51, 52.

Dion. lxvi.

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terms: "I thank you, my dear son, that you allow me to be emperor, and have not yet abrogated my authority." Being sensible that the disordered state of affairs required his presence at Rome, he resolved to entrust his elder and more deserving son, Titus, with the task of completing the conquest of the Jews. Before his departure, Titus is said to have conjured him, not to listen with too much facility to the charges of accusers, but to show himself lenient and placable towards his brother Domitian. Pleased with this instance of generous affection, Vespasian exhorted him to dispel all apprehensions, and to advance the glory of his country by military achievements, while he himself was engaged in the regulation of internal and domestic affairs. He ordered some quick vessels, laden with corn, to put to sea, even before the weather was calm; for Rome was threatened with such a dearth of provisions, that when this supply arrived, there was not more corn in the granaries than was sufficient for ten days.

Tac. Hist. iv.
 81, 82.
 Suet. viii. 7.

While he was waiting at Alexandria for the season at which his voyage might be safely undertaken, some miraculous transactions, wherein he was the principal agent, are said to have occurred. One of the common people, known to be afflicted with a disease of the eyes, applied to him by the direction of the god Serapis, beseeching him to cure his blindness by touching his cheeks, and eye-balls, with his spittle. Another man, who had an infirmity in his hand, or, according to Suetonius, a debility in his leg, declared that he was instigated by the same god to implore the emperor to touch him with his heel. Vespasian at first treated their applications with contempt; but when they pressed him in an importunate manner, and

a crowd of flatterers seconded their entreaties, he ordered the physicians to give their opinion, whether the disorders, under which they laboured, could be cured by human skill. They stated, that in one of the applicants the power of vision was not extinguished, but might be restored by the removal of certain obstructions; and that in the other, the use of the limb was not irremediably lost; they urged him, therefore, to attempt the cure, alleging, that he might probably be selected by the gods, as the instrument of their mercy, and that if he failed, the chief derision would fall upon those who had solicited his aid. Flattered by their representations, and by the late course of events, which seemed to place no limits to his power, he undertook the presumptuous task; and it is related, that in the midst of a multitude, who eagerly waited for the issue, the injured hand and the sightless eye were both restored. Those who were present at the miracles, continued (according to Tacitus) to maintain the truth of their account, some years after any advantage could be gained from it. **VESPASIAN,**
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Vespasian was induced to visit the temple of the god Serapis, who had conferred so much honour upon him, and, having carefully excluded all persons, observed behind him a man named Basilides, whom he knew to be confined by illness at a considerable distance from Alexandria. After enquiring whether he had been admitted into the temple, or seen in the city, he sent some messengers, who ascertained, that he was eighty miles off at the moment when his phantom was seen by Vespasian. The emperor, therefore, was persuaded that the vision was a miraculous one; and as the name of Basilides was derived from the Greek word for *King*, he readily interpreted it as an omen of his sovereign greatness.

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Persons, distinguished for both piety and learning, have been disposed to believe these pagan miracles, and especially the first two; but it is most probable, that they were performed by the artifice and collusion of the Egyptian priests, who wished to increase the reputation of the god Serapis, and exalt the dignity of the Roman emperor. Suetonius, in relating the occurrences, observes, that Vespasian, on account of his humble origin and unexpected elevation, was not yet invested, in the opinion of men, with sufficient authority and majesty; these miracles, however, conferred the requisite lustre; and this, as far as he was concerned, was probably the end to be answered. The cures said to have been performed at Alexandria are considered by Mr. Hume strong enough to be adduced in opposition to the Christian miracles; and in case the necessary mention of them may have raised any transient doubt in the reader's mind, I shall subjoin the observations which Dr. Paley has made upon the subject in his "Evidences of Christianity".*

"Although Tacitus wrote his account twenty-seven years after the miracle is said to have been performed, and wrote at Rome of what passed at Alexandria, and wrote also from report; and although it does not appear, that he had examined the story, or that he believed it, (but rather the contrary); yet I think his testimony sufficient to prove, that such a transaction took place: by which I mean, that the two men in question did apply to Vespasian, that Vespasian did touch the diseased in the manner related, and that a cure was reported to have followed the operation. But the affair labours under a strong and just suspicion,

* Part i. Prop. ii. Chap. ii.

that the whole of it was a concerted imposture brought about by collusion between the patients, the physician, and the emperor. This solution is probable, because there was every thing to suggest, and every thing to facilitate, such a scheme. The miracle was calculated to confer honour upon the emperor, and upon the god Serapis. It was achieved in the midst of the emperor's flatterers and followers, in a city and among a populace, beforehand devoted to his interest, and to the worship of the god; where it would have been treason and blasphemy together, to have contradicted the fame of the cure, or even to have questioned it. And what is very observable in the account is, that the report of the physicians is just such a report as would have been made of a case, in which no external marks of the disease existed, and which consequently was capable of being easily counterfeited, viz:—that in the first of the patients the organs of vision were not destroyed, that the weakness of the second was in his joints. The strongest circumstance in Tacitus's narration is, that the first patient was *notus tabe oculorum*, "remarked or notorious for the disease in his eyes." But this was a circumstance which might have found its way into the story in its progress from a distant country, and during an interval of thirty years; or it might be true, that the malady of the eyes was notorious, yet that the nature and degree of the disease had never been ascertained,—a case by no means uncommon. The emperor's reserve was easily affected, or it is possible he might not be in the secret. There does not seem to be much weight in the observation of Tacitus, that they, who were present, continued even to relate the story, when there was nothing to be gained by the lie. It

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only proves, that those who had told the story for many years persisted in it*. The state of mind of the witnesses, and spectators, *at the time*, is the point to be attended to. Still less is there of pertinency in Mr. Hume's eulogium on the cautious and penetrating genius of the historian; for it does not appear, that the historian believed it. The terms in which he speaks of Serapis, the deity to whose interposition the miracle was attributed, scarcely suffer us to suppose, that Tacitus thought the miracle to be real; 'by the admonition of the god Serapis, whom that superstitious nation (*dedita superstitionibus gens*) worship above all other gods.' To have brought this supposed miracle within the limits of comparison with the miracles of Christ, it ought to have appeared, that a person of low and private station, in the midst of enemies, with the whole power of the country opposing him, with every one around him prejudiced or interested against his claims and character, pretended to perform these cures, and required the spectators, upon the strength of what they saw, to give up their firmest hopes and opinions, and follow him through a life of trial and danger; that many were so moved as to obey his call, at the expense both of every notion in which they had been brought up, and of their ease, safety, and reputation; and that by these beginnings, a change was produced in the world, the effects of which remain to this day—a case, both in its circumstances and consequences, very unlike any thing we find in Tacitus's relation."

* This part of Paley's argument appears sophistical. If all the men persisted in their story, it certainly proves something more than he says; it proves, or very nearly so, that they conscientiously believed the miracles. Their belief, however, is no certain evidence of the truth of the miracles, because they might have been performed in so artful and dexterous a manner as to impose upon their understandings.

It is not necessary to add any thing to these observations of an able defender of Christianity, except that the words, with which Tacitus introduces his account, are so categorical, as to lead to the inference that he did believe the miracles. *Multa miracula evenêre, quis cœlestis favor et quædam in Vespasianum inclinatio Numinum ostenderetur*; "many miracles happened, which showed the favour of heaven, and a certain disposition of the gods, towards Vespasian." Tacitus, with all his genius and philosophy, was grossly bewildered, like the rest of the pagans, upon the subject of religion; and those, who have read the marvellous accounts delivered by him and other ancient historians, will consider, that it is not any corroboration of a miracle that they believed it, nor any confutation of it that they disbelieved it. Paley, in the passage quoted, although he has argued with his usual acuteness, has not exercised all his usual candour, but has seized upon every thing that could appear to turn the scale in his favour. Such indiscriminate zeal is not necessary in the advocates of Christianity, and can never add any weight to the cause which they wish to promote.

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CHAPTER III.

Origin of the Jewish War.—Expulsion of Jews from Cæsarea.—Conduct of Florus.—Cestius sends Neapolitanus to ascertain the state of Jerusalem.—Agrippa, after appeasing the Jews, is driven out of the city.—Masada.—The seditious party at Jerusalem ascendant.—Manahem.—Roman soldiers treacherously murdered.—Sanguinary conflicts between the Jews and the Syrians and Alexandrians.—Cestius advances against Jerusalem, and takes part of the city.—Suddenly retreats in the midst of his successes.—After his death, Vespasian is invested with the command.—Massacre of the Jews at Damascus.—Preparations for war at Jerusalem.—Josephus recovers the city of Tiberias by a remarkable stratagem.—The Jews repulsed from Ascalon.—Vespasian, having collected his army, destroys Gadara, and captures Jotapat after a siege of forty-seven days.—Josephus surrenders himself to the Romans, and predicts to Vespasian that he will be emperor.—Japha is taken by the Romans.—The Samaritans are destroyed on Mount Gerizim, and the Jews at Joppa.

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THE year 70 is remarkable in history for the destruction of the Jewish capital by the Roman army under Titus. The events which preceded, and led to, this great catastrophe, have been purposely omitted, in order that they might not interfere with the narration of Roman affairs, which is

involved in considerable intricacy by the occurrence of so many civil contests and revolutions. But it will be necessary now to give a succinct account of the most important circumstances of the Jewish war, from its commencement until its termination in the present year.

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The Jews, after suffering great oppression from their Roman governors, attempted to redress themselves by open rebellion in the year sixty-six. Gessius Florus was at that time procurator of Judæa; and, although his predecessors had been remarkable for their arbitrary conduct, yet he surpassed them all in the violence, rapacity, and deceit, with which he tormented the Jews. As the wealth of individuals did not satisfy his avarice, he plundered entire cities and communities, and almost gave a public licence to robbers, provided they admitted him to a participation in their booty.

Tac. Hist. v. 10.
Jos. Bell. Jud.
ii. 14.
(A. D. 66.)

In consequence of these excesses, many parts of the country were reduced to desolation, the unfortunate inhabitants being constrained to leave their homes, and seek protection in foreign lands. The Jews, thus cruelly harassed, did not dare send an embassy to Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, whose duty it was to listen to their grievances; but, when he came to Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover, he learnt from no less than three millions of people, who were congregated on account of that solemnity, that they were unjustly suffering from the tyranny of their procurator. Having promised them, that they should experience greater equity for the future, he took his departure for Antioch, and was escorted as far as Cæsarea by the guilty Florus, who derided the complaints of the Jews, and beguiled Cestius with false assurances. Reflecting, that if affairs re-

VERASPASIAN, ^{1, 2.} _{A. D. 70.} ^(A. D. 66.) maintained tranquil, he would probably be called to account for his offences, Florus resolved not to desist from his cruelties, but rather to urge the Jews into rebellion, in order more effectually to stifle their demands for justice.

The city of Cæsarea was disturbed with violent animosities between the Greek and Jewish inhabitants, the former of whom, by the favour of Nero, had lately gained the ascendancy over their rivals. It happened, that one of the Jewish synagogues was situated near some ground belonging to a Greek, who, by the buildings which he erected on it, greatly obstructed the Jews in approaching their place of worship. Their offers to purchase the land had been rejected; and they, therefore, applied to Florus, giving him a present of eight talents in order to induce him to remove the annoyance. He promised to comply with their wishes; but, instead of fulfilling his word, he left Cæsarea and departed to Sebaste. On the following day, which was the Sabbath, the Jews, in assembling for the performance of their religious duties, were provoked by one of the inhabitants, who had placed an earthen vessel before their synagogue, and there amused himself with killing birds.* This wanton contempt of their law, and profanation of their synagogue, impelled the more zealous amongst them to prepare for battle. Many of the Greek inhabitants were desirous of a tumult; and they soon proved themselves the stronger by forcing the Jews to leave Cæsarea, and retreat with the books of the Law to a place about seven or eight miles distant. Some

* This appears to have been done in derision of the Jewish Law, which commands, that, in cleansing a leper, a bird shall be killed in an earthen vessel over running water. See Levit. xiv. 5. According to Dr. Hudson, who refers to this text, the Cæsarean intended to reproach the Jews as a leprous people.

of their leaders, proceeding to Sebaste, complained to Florus of the violence which they had suffered, and reminded him, as delicately as possible, of the money which they had given him to secure his protection; but he ordered them to be cast into prison, bringing against them the frivolous charge of carrying away the books of the Law.

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(A.D. 66.)

While the inhabitants of Jerusalem were grieving at the expulsion of their countrymen from Cæsarea, Florus sent his officers to take seventeen talents from their sacred treasury, alleging that Nero required them. Enraged at this sacrilegious act, the people assembled at the Temple in a tumultuous manner, and, uttering keen reproaches against the procurator, pretended to collect money to relieve his poverty. Florus, disregarding the tumult at Cæsarea, marched quickly to Jerusalem with a body of troops, intending to exact obedience from the inhabitants by force of arms. They endeavoured to arrest his violence by going out to meet his army in a friendly and submissive manner; but the centurion, who led the advanced guard, ordered them to disperse, and not to presume to salute a ruler whom they had so insolently reviled in his absence. On the following day Florus, having ascended his tribunal, commanded that those who had insulted him should be immediately surrendered. In vain the chief priests and principal citizens attempted to appease his anger, by declaring that it was impossible, in so large a populace, to distinguish the criminals; that all were now grieved for the tumult which had occurred; and that it would redound to the honour of the Roman name to forgive a few guilty persons for the sake of so many that were innocent. Rejecting all their appeals, he commanded

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his troops to pillage the Upper Market Place, and to slay every one they met. The soldiers, interpreting this order as a general licence for all excesses, not only killed those who came in their way, but broke into the houses for the sake of slaughtering and plundering the inhabitants. About three thousand six hundred persons, including women and children, were destroyed; many were scourged and crucified before the tribunal of Florus, and in this number were some who had obtained the equestrian rank among the Romans, which ought to have been an inviolable protection against a punishment of so much indignity. Bernice, the sister of King Agrippa, who happened to be at Jerusalem for the performance of a sacred vow, appeared bare-footed before the tribunal of the procurator, interceding for the Jews; but her entreaties had so little effect upon the savage Roman, that she was in some danger of losing her own life.

The feelings of the multitude, on the ensuing day, were divided between grief for the murder of their countrymen, and execration of the barbarity of Florus; but they allowed their anger to be pacified by the arguments of the chief priests and others, and by the expectation that no further outrage would be committed upon them. Florus, who wished to kindle, rather than allay, their mutinous spirit, informed their leaders, that he would accept it as a proof of their peaceable disposition, if they consented to go out and meet two cohorts that were coming from Cæsarea. The multitude, after showing much reluctance, acceded to this proposal. They proceeded quietly out of the city, and greeted the soldiers in a friendly manner; but the troops, according to the directions

which they had received from Florus, did not return the salutation; and when some of the most turbulent of the Jews began to inveigh against him, they were unexpectedly attacked. Many were killed by the blows which they received, some were trampled under the horses' feet, but the greatest number were crushed to death in their violent struggle to escape from their antagonists and enter the gates of the city. Florus, taking advantage of their confusion, endeavoured to get possession of the temple, and the tower of Antonia adjoining it; but his troops were repulsed by the darts hurled from the tops of the houses, and by the dense multitude that blockaded the narrow streets. The Jews provided against any future attack upon the temple by demolishing the cloisters which united it to the tower. Florus, thus defeated in his project of seizing the sacred treasures, departed to Cæsarea, offering to leave with the Jewish rulers as many troops as they desired; but they engaged to preserve the peace of the city with a single cohort.

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Cestius received contradictory accounts of the origin of the disturbances at Jerusalem; for while Florus accused the Jews of revolutionary intentions, the letters which came from them and from Bernice were filled with complaints of the tyrannical conduct of the procurator. In order to ascertain the real state of affairs from an impartial eye-witness, he commanded a tribune, named Neapolitanus, to visit Jerusalem; and this messenger, on his arrival at Jamnia, met King Agrippa, and informed him of the business with which he was entrusted. The most eminent, also, of the Jews came to Jamnia to offer their congratulations to Agrippa, and described to him the grievances

VESPASIAN,^{1, 2.} which they had suffered from Florus. As Agrippa was anxious to avoid a war with the Romans, he endeavoured to allay their resentment; and, proceeding to Jerusalem in company with Neapolitanus, he found all the inhabitants, though indignant at the procurator, yet professing unaltered respect and submission to the Roman authority. Neapolitanus was satisfied with the external tranquillity which he observed in the city; and, after addressing the people, and performing in the Temple such service as was lawful for a Gentile, he returned to make his report to Cestius.

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(A. D. 66.)

After his departure the Jews, whose inclinations were not so peaceable as they had appeared to the Roman delegate, were desirous of sending ambassadors to Nero, in order to explain the cause of the late tumults. Agrippa did not approve of such a measure; and, as he was aware that many of them were eager to involve the nation in war, he assembled them, and made a long harangue upon the danger of provoking the Roman power, which had subdued the greatest people, both barbarous and civilized*. He declared, that they had already placed themselves in a hostile position towards the Romans, by not paying the tribute which was due, and by destroying the cloisters between the Temple and the tower of Antonia. His expostulations had such weight with them, that they collected the arrears of tribute, amounting to forty talents, and began to repair the cloisters. But when he endeavoured to persuade them to submit to Florus, until a proper successor should be appointed by Nero, they rejected his advice with indignation, and, heaping reproaches and in-

* In speaking of Britain, he supposes it to be an island as large as the rest of the world!

sults upon him, compelled him to leave the city, and depart to his own territories.

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All the proceedings of the Jews now assumed a hostile character. A fortress called Masada, not far from Jerusalem, was seized by a party of men, who put to death the Romans that were in it, and garrisoned it with their own troops. About the same time Eleazar, the son of Ananias the high priest, being captain of the temple, and a man of resolute disposition, had sufficient authority to persuade those, who ministered in the sacred service, not to accept any offering or sacrifice in behalf of a foreigner. Such a resolution was an explicit declaration of war, as it interdicted the sacrifices which it was usual to make on account of the Roman emperor. The Pharisees, therefore, and other men of power, who were interested in preventing a rebellion, warmly protested against the innovation, and declared, upon the authority of the most learned priests, that their ancestors had always received sacrifices from foreigners. Finding their remonstrances unheeded, they sent ambassadors to request assistance from both Florus and Agrippa. The procurator, who exulted at having kindled the flame of war, took no notice of the embassy; but Agrippa, who was anxious to prevent the impending conflict between his countrymen and the Romans, sent a body of three thousand cavalry to Jerusalem.

After receiving this succour, the party advocating peace established themselves in the Upper City, while their adversaries were in possession of the Lower City and the Temple. Continual skirmishes with stones and darts, and sometimes more regular attacks, were made for the space of seven days; after which the seditious party, strengthened

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by a body of men who may be denominated assassins *, were able to drive their opponents from the Upper City. They burnt the house of Ananias, the high priest, and the palaces of Agrippa and Bernice; and, in the same manner, they destroyed the office where the records and bonds were deposited, hoping, by this act, to gain the support of the more needy class of citizens who were in debt. On the following day they attacked the tower of Antonia, and, as soon as they had captured it, prepared to besiege the Upper Palace, in which the king's soldiers, with the high priest and other eminent persons, had taken refuge.

A person named Manahem, the son of Judas the Galilean, now became the head of the seditious party at Jerusalem. Having gone to Masada, he seized the arms deposited there, and, distributing them to his followers, and such robbers as were willing to join him, formed a body guard, and returned to Jerusalem with a kind of regal dignity. In an attack upon the Upper Palace he undermined one of the towers, and destroyed it; and, though the besieged had raised an inner wall for their protection, they sent to declare their readiness to capitulate. The king's soldiers and the Jews were suffered to depart unmolested;

* They were called *Sicarii*, from the *sica*, or daggers, which they carried under their garments, and first became formidable in the year 52, when Felix was procurator of Judaea. It was their practice to stab men in open day, and in the middle of the city, chiefly during the festivals, when they could mingle more securely with the crowd. Their first victim was Jonathan, the high priest; and, after his death, persons were killed every day, in so insidious a manner, that no one thought his life safe, nor could trust his most intimate friends. The *Sicarii* generally escaped detection by feigning great horror at the murders committed, and, probably by the close and artful union which they preserved one with another. *Jes. Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. In the *Acts* (xxi. 38) those, whom our translators have called *murderers*, are denominated in the Greek *συκάρηαι*, *sicarii*.

but the unfortunate Romans, not being included in the articles of surrender, were obliged to forsake their camp and flee. Those that were taken by Manahem were put to death: the rest escaped to three royal towers, bearing the names of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. Ananias, the high priest, endeavoured to conceal himself in an aqueduct; but being discovered on the following day, he, together with his brother, was slain *. The success of his enterprise so elated the insolent Manahem, that, imagining there was no rival able to contend with him for the supremacy, he began to exhibit the character of a cruel and odious tyrant. Eleazar remonstrated with his followers upon the inconsistency of becoming slaves to a native ruler of so despicable a character, after they had ventured to struggle with the Romans for the recovery of their liberty; and, having roused their indignation, he advised them to attack Manahem when he appeared in the Temple, insulting them with his royal pomp and attire. Although Manahem was escorted with an armed retinue, he was overpowered by the troops of Eleazar, and a multitude of people who assailed him with stones. Many of his followers were killed on the spot, a few escaped to Masada, and he himself, after being concealed for a time from the vengeance of his pursuers, was at last put to death with various kinds of torment.

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After the destruction of Manahem, the people would have gladly consented to liberate the Romans who were in the royal towers, but Eleazar and his party continued to besiege them closely. At last their commander, whose name

* This was the same Ananias, to whom St. Paul had declared, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall." Acts, xxiii. 3.

VESPASIAN, ^{1, 2.}
^{A.D. 70.}
 (A.D. 66.) was Metilius, stipulated, that they should surrender their arms and property, upon condition of having their lives spared. Trusting to the fidelity of the Jews, they quietly resigned their swords and shields, and were preparing to depart, when they were surrounded by Eleazar's troops, and attacked in a manner as cowardly as it was perfidious. Without attempting to defend themselves, or to sue for mercy, they merely exclaimed against the base violation of the solemn compact which had been made, and were all massacred except Metilius, who promised to become a Jew, and submit to the rite of circumcision.

This act of treachery took place on one of the Jewish sabbaths, and on the same day and hour more than twenty thousand Jews were killed by the Syrians of Cæsarea, while such as fled from the carnage were taken by Florus and condemned to the galleys. To revenge themselves for this slaughter of their countrymen, the Jews divided themselves into detachments, and attacked the Syrian villages and cities that were in their territories, or on their confines. The Syrians were not slow in retaliating, and in most of the towns, where they were mixed with the Jews, fierce and sanguinary conflicts ensued between the two races. At Scythopolis the Jews assisted the heathen inhabitants against the attack of their own countrymen; but their extraordinary zeal did not save them from either suspicion or destruction. For being requested to leave the city and retire with their families to an adjoining grove, they were surprised there by the Syrians, and treacherously murdered, to the amount of thirteen thousand. Among those who fell was a Jew, named Simon, remarkable for his great strength and courage,

which he had employed in combating against his own nation. When he observed the perfidy of the people of Scythopolis, he resolved that neither himself nor his family should perish by their weapons. He, therefore, killed with his own hands his father, his mother, his wife and children, and at last, standing in a conspicuous manner over so many slaughtered relatives, plunged the sword into his own body. But besides the Syrians, whose fury was inflamed against them at this time, the Jews had other enemies. At Alexandria, where they were always hateful to the rest of the inhabitants, such commotions were excited, that the governor, Tiberius Alexander (himself a Jew by birth) commanded two Roman legions to attack that part of the city where they resided, and to plunder and burn their houses. About fifty thousand of them were thus massacred, and none would have been permitted to survive, if they had not sued for mercy.

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While the Jews were thus armed against their neighbours, and their neighbours against them, Cestius, thinking that hostilities could be no longer deferred, marched from Antioch with the twelfth legion, and many other troops of the Romans and their allies. On his arrival at Zabulon, he found that the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, and gave his soldiers permission to burn the city, and enrich themselves with the spoil. Descending to Cæsarea, he detached part of his army to take Joppa, which was cruelly pillaged and burnt. The troops that he sent to reduce Galilee were received in a friendly manner at Sepphoris (which was the strongest city) and encountered but little opposition in other places. He advanced, therefore, against Jerusalem, and on his march thither set

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fire to the city of Lydda, the greatest part of the inhabitants having gone to Jerusalem, in order to be present at the feast of tabernacles. When he pitched his camp at Gabao, about six miles from the metropolis, the Jews, disregarding the sanctity of the feast and the Sabbath, armed themselves in a tumultuous manner, and attacked him so vigorously, that they slew above five hundred of his men. After this skirmish Agrippa sent proposals of peace, promising them absolute forgiveness on the part of the Romans; but the seditious killed one of his messengers and wounded the other, and were in turn assaulted by the Jewish people, who were desirous of making some accommodation with their invaders. This discord among his enemies enabled Cestius to advance his whole army as far as Scopus, which was only seven furlongs distant from Jerusalem, and there he remained inactive for three days, hoping that the Jews would submit to some pacific arrangement. On the fourth day he commenced an assault, and gained possession of what was called the New City, which he set on fire; and, if he had resolutely pursued the attack, he would (in the opinion of Josephus) have captured the whole of Jerusalem on that day. But, as the historian relates, he was dissuaded from such an attempt by several officers in his army, that had been bribed by Florus, whose interest it was to prolong the war.

For five days the Jews successfully repulsed the Romans from their walls; but on the sixth, they were placed in most imminent danger by an attack which Cestius made with his best troops upon the north side of the Temple. His soldiers, working under the covering of their closely compacted

shields*, had undermined the wall, and were preparing to set fire to the gate: the seditious, filled with consternation, were fleeing in different directions, while the more peaceable citizens were ready to open their gates to the Roman commander; yet Cestius, either ignorant of, or wilfully disregarding, all these favourable circumstances, recalled his troops, and departed from Jerusalem, as if he had suffered an irretrievable defeat, or the city had been impregnable. Josephus accounts for this infatuation on the part of the Roman general, by supposing that God's anger against the Jews was not yet appeased, and that they were reserved for greater calamities. This is unquestionably true; and it has been alleged as a further reason for the extraordinary departure of Cestius, that it gave the Christians an opportunity of obeying their Lord's injunctions, and escaping from Jerusalem†. They are said to have taken refuge in Pella, which was beyond Jordan, and one of the cities of Decapolis.

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Cestius retreated, as he had come, from Scopus to Gabao; and having remained two days at the latter place in great perplexity, and observing that the number of his enemies continually increased, he destroyed his beasts of burden, and commenced a rapid flight. The Jews pursued and harassed him as far as Antipatris, slaying about five thousand of his men, and capturing one of his eagles. He was joined, however, by some of the Jews, who thought it prudent to quit Jerusalem, and he sent part of them into Greece, to inform Nero of their calamitous situation, and to accuse Florus, as being the chief instigator of the war. Cestius died soon afterwards, either in the course of nature, or from grief, on account of his disgraceful expedition.

Jos. Bell. Jud.
ii. 19.
Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 4.
Tac. Hist. v.
10.

* Called *testudo*.

† See Matt. xxiv. 15, 16; Luke, xxi. 30, 31.

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Vespasian was hereupon appointed by Nero to continue the war with the Jews, as he had all the necessary vigour and experience for such a task, and was of too humble an origin to excite the jealousy of the tyrant.

As soon as the people of Damascus were apprised of the defeat of the Romans, they took revenge upon the Jews, who were resident in their city, by killing ten thousand of them at once. They had previously confined them in a narrow place, and disarmed them, and therefore the work of destruction was quickly accomplished. The chief ground of their anxiety was, how to conceal the crime from their wives, many of whom were devoted to the rites of the Jewish religion.

The partisans of war, having triumphed so unexpectedly over Cestius, and returned to Jerusalem from the pursuit of his army, made use of force, as well as persuasion, in order to overcome those citizens, who were adverse to their plans. As the year was now drawing towards its close, they made preparations for the ensuing campaign, by causing the walls of Jerusalem to be repaired, weapons and instruments of war to be fabricated, and the young to be trained in military exercises. Different generals were chosen to take the command in various parts of the country; and among them Josephus, the celebrated historian, who has written an exact account of the war, was appointed governor of the two Galilees. He built walls round the chief towns of his province, and, having collected an army of a hundred thousand men, endeavoured to establish among them that discipline and ready obedience, which he knew were the great causes that contributed to the Roman victories. But all his plans were thwarted by an artful and factious adversary,

named John of Gischala, whose insidious machinations at one time endangered his life, and at another caused several of the cities to revolt from his authority. Josephus evinced great dexterity and moderation in resisting the intrigues of his opponents, and the stratagem by which he recovered the city of Tiberias deserves particular notice. The inhabitants of that place having twice rebelled against him, he was anxious to reduce them to obedience, but had not at the moment sufficient troops to execute his purpose. He, therefore, collected all the vessels that were on the lake of Genesareth, amounting to two hundred and thirty, and, having placed but four men on board of each, sailed, with this semblance of an armament, from Tarichææ to Tiberias. He then ordered all the vessels, except his own, to keep at such a distance from the shore, that their empty condition might not be discovered, while he himself, though having but seven guards, sailed near enough to address the people of Tiberias, who were assembled in great consternation upon their walls. Terrified by his sudden appearance, and believing that all the vessels they saw were fully manned, they thought it hopeless to offer any resistance, and besought him not to destroy their city. After reproaching them with the perfidy and ingratitude which he had experienced from them, he declared that he was still disposed to forgive them, if they sent some of their citizens to treat with him. Ten of the most eminent men, having come on board his vessel for this purpose, were secretly conveyed to a distance from the city. He then commanded fifty more to be sent, under pretence of concluding the treaty and giving security; and these were conveyed away like the first. At length, by invent-

VESPASIAN,
1,2.
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VESPASIAN, ^{1, 2.}
^{A. D. 70.}
 (A. D. 66.) ing different pleas, and operating upon the fears of his enemies, he got possession of six hundred of their principal men, and about two thousand of the people, who were sent to Tarichææ, and placed in prison.

Jos. Bell. Jud. The defeat of Cestius elated the Jews with such
^{iii. 2.}
Suet. viii. an opinion of their own prowess, that they resolved
(Vesp.) 4. to attack Ascalon, a city strongly fortified, but having a very small garrison. The commander, whose name was Antonius, did not suffer himself to be intimidated either by the number of his assailants or their ferocity, but received their attack in so skilful a manner, that at the end of the engagement he had slain about ten thousand of their men. The Jews, after a short interval, advanced against the city with a still greater army than before; but they fell into the ambuscade, which Antonius laid for them, and more than eight thousand of them were killed.

(A. D. 67.) **Vespasian**, having assumed the command of the Roman army, marched from Antioch to Ptolemais. Here he was met by the inhabitants of Sepphoris, who had resolved to take no part in the rebellion, and who requested from him sufficient succours for the protection of their city. He sent them six thousand foot, and a thousand horse, which not only guarded the place against the attacks of Josephus, but devastated all the open country of Galilee with fire and sword. Titus, who was appointed one of his father's lieutenants, arrived at Ptolemais with the fifth and tenth legions, which he had been ordered to bring from Alexandria. The fifteenth legion was already with Vespasian; besides which, he had twenty-three cohorts, and the auxiliary forces of Agrippa, of Antiochus, king of Commagene, of Sohemus, king of Sophene, and Malchus, king of Arabia. His whole army amounted to about sixty

thousand men, not including the numerous servants who followed the camp, and who, in the opinion of Josephus, were by no means contemptible soldiers.

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Vespasian, having established discipline in his camp, led his army to the borders of Galilee, and his mere approach so terrified the Jewish soldiers, that the greater part of them instantly dispersed themselves, and Josephus, with a few others, was obliged to flee to Tiberias. From this inauspicious commencement, Josephus (as he himself informs us) immediately despaired of any successful issue to the war. He wrote letters to the rulers at Jerusalem, informing them of the state of affairs without exaggeration or disguise, and requesting succours from them if it was their determination to continue the war. In the meantime, he was resolved (he says) not to tarnish his honour, but to encounter death rather than betray the trust which his country had reposed in him. Vespasian, marching against Gadara, took it at the first assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword, in revenge for the defeat of Cestius. The city and all the adjoining places were burned. Having heard that the greater part of the Jews had taken refuge in Jotapat, which was a fortified city, in a very rough and precipitous situation, he led his whole army against it. Before the place was invested, Josephus, hastening from Tiberias, had thrown himself into it, in order to animate the courage of his countrymen, and discharge the duty of their commander. The Jews, fighting with more valour than military skill, sustained the siege with great pertinacity for a period of forty-seven days. Josephus devised all kinds of expedients to defend the city; but when he saw that its fall was inevitable, he acknowledges that he intended to quit it. His resolution, how-

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ever, was changed by the piteous entreaties of the inhabitants, and by the consideration, that, if he resisted their wishes, they would probably detain him by force. The Romans had raised their banks higher than the walls of the city, when a deserter informed Vespasian, that the Jews upon guard, overcome by incessant fatigue, usually fell asleep at the last watch of the night, and that, if he attacked them at that hour, he would probably capture the city. The experiment being made, the Romans, headed by Titus, entered the city without opposition, killed the guard, and began to slaughter the inhabitants. The Jews, unable to recover from their surprise and consternation, either slew themselves in despair, or were massacred by the Romans, who, exasperated by the length of the siege, were unwilling to show any mercy. Forty thousand men are said to have perished, including those who had fallen in the previous conflicts; twelve hundred women and children were made captives; and the city, with its fortifications, was entirely destroyed. It was taken on the first of July in the thirteenth year of Nero's reign.

At the time of its capture, Josephus, fleeing from the enemy, leaped into a pit, which communicated with a large subterraneous cavern. Here he found that forty persons of rank had already taken refuge, and collected together a considerable quantity of provisions. In this place he was concealed for two days, after which the Romans discovered the place of his retreat from a woman whom they had taken prisoner. Vespasian immediately sent two messengers to give him an assurance that his life would be preserved, if he would quit the cavern; and when Josephus hesitated, he sent a third per-

son who had formerly been acquainted with him, in order to give greater weight to his promise. Josephus had no sooner declared his acceptance of the proposal, than he was surrounded by his companions in the cavern, who reproached him with his dastardly love of life, and protested that their general should not submit to the Romans, but that they would all die by their own hands. He endeavoured to convince them of the folly and the criminality of destroying themselves; but when they scorned all his arguments, he proposed that they should cast lots to determine the order in which they were to die, and that he who drew the first lot should be killed by him who drew the second, and the drawer of the second by the third, until all were dispatched. To this scheme they consented, and when it providentially happened that Josephus and another were the last two, he persuaded his comrade that they should abstain from all attempts against their own lives. Josephus, therefore, was conducted to Vespasian; and, according to his own testimony and that of the historians Suetonius and Dion, he assured the Roman general in a very unequivocal manner, that he was destined to be raised to the imperial dignity. He intimates in his writings, that he had acquired the knowledge by dreams; and as the insurrections, by which Nero's power was overthrown, did not commence until the ensuing year, it was not a very probable event that Vespasian, who was of humble extraction, would soon become emperor. Vespasian at first considered the prediction as a mere artifice to gain favour; and one of his friends asked Josephus, why he could not foresee the catastrophes that were to befall the city of Jotapat and himself, if he was gifted with the power of predicting other

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Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 5.
Dion. lxxvi.
Jos. Bell. Jud.
iii. 8.

VESPASIAN, events. Josephus replied, that he had really fore-
 told that the city would be taken on the forty-
 seventh day, and that he himself would be captured
 by the Romans; and this declaration, we are in-
 formed, was proved to Vespasian to be true, by the
 enquiries which he made among the Jewish pri-
 soners. Josephus was detained in custody, but
 received presents from Vespasian, and was treated
 with great kindness by both him and Titus.

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The obstinate resistance made by the inhabitants of Jotapat encouraged the neighbouring people of Japha to join in the rebellion. Vespasian, therefore, sent two thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, under the command of Trajan, to attack the city, which was encircled with two walls. The inhabitants, having ventured out to meet him, were quickly defeated, and, retiring within the first wall, were closely pursued by him. They were excluded from the gates of the second wall by their fellow-citizens, who were afraid of an irruption of the enemy, and, their retreat being thus intercepted, about twelve thousand of them were slain, while they execrated the apparent perfidy of their own countrymen, more than the ferocity of the Romans. Titus, to whom Trajan voluntarily conceded the honour of finishing the conquest, soon afterwards took the city, and about three thousand more of the inhabitants were massacred, and two thousand carried into captivity.

About the same time, the Samaritans, having assembled upon their sacred mountain of Gerizim, were suspected by Vespasian of cherishing some hostile design. Cerialis, therefore, was sent to watch them; and, having surrounded the mountain he promised them, that they should depart without injury, if they consented to lay down their arms.

Distrust or infatuation urged them to refuse, and they were therefore attacked, and more than eleven thousand of them were killed.

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The city of Joppa, which the troops of Cestius had burned, was in a great measure repaired, and had become a place of retreat for the seditious and fugitive Jews. As the surrounding country had been devastated, and could not furnish them with subsistence, they built vessels, and infested all the neighbouring parts of the sea with their piracies. In order to destroy these freebooters, Vespasian sent thither a detachment of troops, who entered the city by night, while the Jews, not daring to defend it, fled to their vessels and put out to sea. On the following morning a violent north wind dispersed their ships, dashing them against one another, or wrecking them upon the shore; and more than four thousand of the Jews were destroyed by the waves, by the swords of their enemies, or by their own hands. A few Roman troops were left at Joppa, and extended their ravages and the terror of their arms to all the neighbouring places.

CHAPTER IV.

Surrender of Tiberias and capture of Taricheæ.—Gamala taken by assault.—Gischala opens its gates to Titus.—Impious atrocities of the Zealots at Jerusalem.—Being attacked by Ananus, they send for the assistance of the Idumeans.—The Idumeans and Zealots commit great slaughters at Jerusalem.—Zacharias, the son of Baruch, killed in the Temple.—The Idumeans return home.—The assassins of Masada overrun Judæa. Vespasian enters Gadura.—Placidus subjugates all Peræa.—Nearly all places except Jerusalem are subdued by the Romans.—Simon, the son of Gioras, collects an army and defeats the Zealots.—Invades Idumea, and desolates all that country.—The Zealots capture his wife, but are obliged to restore her.—The citizens admit him into Jerusalem, in order to protect them from the fury of John.—Vespasian at Berytus orders Josephus to be liberated.—Eleazar forms a third party at Jerusalem, and John and Simon destroy the provisions collected in the city.

VESPASIAN, THE city of Tiberias, which belonged to the kingdom of Agrippa, was under the tyranny of a few turbulent leaders, who were eager to contest the progress of the Roman arms. But the principal inhabitants, having offered their submission to Vespasian, were forgiven by him, and the instigators of the revolt fled to Taricheæ, another city in the dominions of Agrippa. Titus was sent thither

VESPASIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 70.
Jos. Bell. Jud.
iii. 10.
(A. D. 67.)

with six hundred cavalry; and, by means of these and a few other troops, he not only defeated the Jews in a plain which lay before Taricheæ, but boldly marched into the city itself, where many of the inhabitants were averse to the war. Vespasian, being apprized of the victory of his son, hastened to Taricheæ, and commanded vessels to be built in order to pursue the Jews who had fled away upon the lake of Gennesareth. The miserable fugitives were all destroyed, and the number of the dead, including such as had been slain in the capture of the city, exceeded six thousand. Those inhabitants of Taricheæ, who had reluctantly joined in the revolt, were deluded with hopes of pardon; but as Vespasian was afraid that they would excite fresh insurrections, he followed the treacherous advice of his officers, and allowed twelve hundred of the oldest and most infirm to be killed. He selected six thousand of the young men, whom he sent to Nero, in order to work in the excavation of the isthmus of Corinth: more than thirty thousand were sold as slaves, besides those who were surrendered to Agrippa (because they were his subjects) and whom the king condemned to be sold as well as the others.

VEASPASIAN,
1, 2.
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(A. D. 67.)

The strong city of Gamala, which was on the eastern side of the lake of Gennesareth, and opposite to Taricheæ, was the next point of attack. The Romans, having thrown down part of the wall with their battering-rams, rushed in with great fury, but were repulsed by the overwhelming number of their antagonists, and Vespasian himself was in danger of being killed. On the twenty-second of October three soldiers of the fifteenth legion undermined a high tower, and on the following day the Romans got possession of the whole

Jos. Bell. Jud.
iv. 1, &c.

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city, and slaughtered all the inhabitants they could find, both women and infants. They did not, however, kill more than four thousand, as many had previously fled from the place, or died from famine, and about five thousand precipitated themselves, with their wives and children, into a deep valley near the city, rather than fall into the hands of the victors. At the same time that Vespasian was besieging Gamala, he sent six hundred cavalry, under the command of Placidus, to drive the Jews from Mount Tabor, which had been fortified by Josephus. Placidus, having allured his enemies into the plain, defeated them, and made himself master of their stronghold.

All the parts of Galilee had been now recovered by the Romans except the small city of Gischala, where the inhabitants in general were anxious for peace, but were overruled by the violence of John of Gischala, and the band of robbers that he commanded. While the legions were sent into winter quarters at Scythopolis and Cæsarea, Titus marched with a thousand cavalry against Gischala; and although he was confident that he could take the city at the first assault, yet he was so weary of the effusion of blood, and so reluctant to involve the innocent in the fate of the guilty, that he offered terms of accommodation to the besieged. John pretended that he would accept them; but as it happened to be the Sabbath, he besought him to allow the Jews to observe that day in a devout manner, and not to compel them openly to transgress their law. Titus generously withdrew his troops, and at night-time the crafty John fled from the city, with a great multitude of people, who directed their flight towards Jerusalem. The remaining inhabitants of Gischala admitted Titus on

the following day with loud expressions of gratitude and joy ; and when he was informed of the artifice which John had practised upon him, he commanded the fugitives to be pursued. The perfidious leader himself was too precipitate to be overtaken ; but of the crowd of women and helpless persons, whom he had deserted on the road, about six thousand were killed by the Romans, and three thousand carried back to Gischala. Part of the wall of the city was destroyed by Titus, in token of its capture ; but he abstained from all acts of vengeance against the inhabitants who had been guilty of encouraging the sedition. Thus the whole of Galilee was reduced to subjection.

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Some time elapsed after the capture of Jotapat before the event was fully known at Jerusalem, because the slaughter of the inhabitants had been universal, so that no one escaped to relate its horrors. The truth was gradually divulged, though not without some admixture of falsehood ; for it was reported, that Josephus was killed, and the Jews honoured him with a public mourning, which lasted for thirty days. When it was ascertained that he had submitted to captivity, and that he was treated with great lenity and favour by the Roman general, their sentiments of respectful grief were changed into those of detestation and anger, and they reviled him for his supposed perfidy and cowardice. The progress of the Roman arms in Galilee did not produce a universal desire for peace among the Jews ; but in all their cities there were two parties, the young and the daring being eager to try the vicissitudes of war, while the older and more prudent citizens were convinced that no resistance could finally be successful. Bands of robbers were everywhere organized ; and after they had overrun all the

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country, they flocked to Jerusalem, and made that city the scene of fresh atrocities. Being joined to an impious faction, who called themselves Zealots, on account of their pretended zeal for the honour of God and the welfare of their country, they imprisoned three eminent persons, named Antipas, Levias, and Sophas, who were all of regal extraction, being descended from the family of Herod. Having alleged that these wished to betray Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans, they did not attempt to substantiate the charge, but caused them all to be murdered in prison. They afterwards took possession of the Temple, and made it their fortress and place of refuge; and that the high priest might be absolutely devoted to their will, they resolved to cast lots who should bear the sacred office. The lot fell upon Phannias, the son of Samuel, an ignorant countryman, who was totally unfit for so high a dignity, but who, nevertheless, was arrayed in the pontifical robes, and compelled to obey the directions of those who had created him as their puppet. While the Zealots triumphed in their impious mockery, the more devout part of the Jews could not but weep to see the utter degradation of the most holy functions of their religion.

Ananus, a man of great prudence, and who had formerly held the office of high priest, at length incited the people of Jerusalem to resist the profane tyranny of the Zealots. The multitude, under his direction, attacked them in the Temple, and after several conflicts, in which many were slain on both sides, his men made a successful irruption into the first court, or court of the Gentiles, compelling their enemies to retreat before them. Ananus forbore to assault them in the inner court, on account of the sanctity of the place, and because

the people could not lawfully enter it without undergoing the ceremony of purification; but, placing a guard of six thousand men in the cloisters, he kept the Zealots closely besieged. While they were in this situation, John of Gischala inflamed the contention by his treacherous duplicity and artful falsehoods. Pretending to espouse the party of the people, and to attach himself to Ananus, he secretly betrayed all their counsels to the Zealots. When his perfidy was suspected, he readily took an oath that he would be faithful to Ananus; and, having thus recovered his confidence, he was sent by him into the Temple, in order to propose a capitulation to his adversaries. But, instead of endeavouring to effect a reconciliation, he assured the Zealots, that Ananus had sent invitations to Vespasian to come and take possession of the city; that all of them, and especially their leaders, were in the most imminent danger; and that their only protection was to be found in the assistance of some foreign power. Dismayed by these false representations, the Zealots sent letters to the Idumeans, imploring their succour, under pretence that Ananus intended to surrender Jerusalem to the Romans. The love of war and innovation, with which the Idumeans were animated, induced them to give a ready acquiescence to the proposal of the Zealots, and, having assembled to the amount of twenty thousand men, they marched under four leaders to Jerusalem.

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As soon as Ananus was informed of their approach, he ordered the gates of the city to be shut; but he permitted Jesus, the son of Gamala, who had formerly been high priest, to expostulate with them upon the criminality of assisting such men as the Zealots, and to promise them admission into

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Jerusalem, upon condition that they came, as peaceable umpires, without their arms. The Idumeans, provoked at their exclusion from the city, and refusing to submit to the indignity of laying down their arms, pitched their camp before the walls; and at night they were visited with a furious tempest of wind and rain, accompanied with appalling thunder and lightning. While they were considering this circumstance as an indication of the wrath of heaven against them, the Zealots took advantage of the noise and confusion which it created; and, as Ananus negligently suffered his guards to sleep, some of their men descended from the temple, and opened one of the gates of the city to the Idumeans. The Zealots and their allies, attacking the troops of Ananus on both sides, filled them with sudden terror; and, being too angry to spare even those who sued for quarter, they deluged the temple with the blood of about eight thousand five hundred men. They afterwards began to pillage the houses, and to make an indiscriminate slaughter of the citizens. Ananus and Jesus were both put to death with insulting cruelty, and their bodies were denied the rites of burial. Josephus considers, that if the former of these priests had lived, his prudence, patriotism, and love of peace would probably have averted the fall of Jerusalem; and he adds, that God appeared to deprive the city of its best defenders, because his anger had doomed it to destruction on account of the guilt of its inhabitants. Besides Ananus and Jesus, twelve thousand citizens of respectable rank were imprisoned, beaten, tormented, and at last killed; while their bodies were ignominiously cast away without any of the rites of sepulture, unless some of their relations sprinkled a little dust over them during

the night. Those who had the courage to do so in the day, exposed themselves to great danger from the fury of their persecutors.

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After committing so many wanton murders, the Zealots, under pretence of showing their respect for justice, appointed seventy judges to try Zacharias the son of Baruch, who was formidable to them on account of his wealth, his piety, and his courage. He was accused of a design to betray the city into the hands of Vespasian; but the charge was corroborated by nothing but the bare allegation of his adversaries, which he easily refuted. He afterwards expatiated with great boldness upon their gross violations of the law, and the heavy calamities which they had inflicted upon their country. Their revengeful impatience would not have suffered him to proceed with his just invectives, if they had not been persuaded, that the judges intended to condemn him; but these men, refusing to co-operate in the nefarious design, for which they had been invested with judicial power, fearlessly pronounced him innocent. Upon this unexpected verdict, two of the Zealots attacked Zacharias in the middle of the Temple, and, having tauntingly exclaimed, that they would give him a surer acquittal than that of his judges, slew him, and cast his body into the valley beneath. They drove the judges from the Temple, striking them with the backs of their swords, but sparing their lives, that they might be so many witnesses to the people of Jerusalem of the state of slavish dependence to which they were reduced. The Zacharias, who was so unjustly killed by the Zealots, is supposed by some Christian commentators to be the person named in the twenty-third Chapter of St. Matthew, ver. 35: *That upon you may come all the*

VESPASIAN, *righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood*
 1, 2. *of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son*
 A. D. 70. *of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and*
 (A. D. 68.) *the altar.* In favour of this interpretation, it is
 alleged, that it makes the list of righteous men
 slain by the Jews more comprehensive, than if we
 applied the passage to any other Zacharias. Baruch
 and Barachias, it is said, are the same names; nor
 should we wonder that Christ speaks of Zacharias
 as already slain, because it is agreeable to the
 prophetic language to use a past for a future tense.
 On the other hand, it is asserted, that Zacharias
 was not killed by the Zealots between the Temple
 and the altar, but in the middle of the Temple;
 also, that there is no proof that he was a Christian,
 and that it is not probable that our Lord would have
 selected one of the Jews, who were then in a state of
 rejection, to close a catalogue of holy martyrs.

The Idumeans, observing that they had been
 imposed upon respecting the state of affairs at
 Jerusalem, and beginning to feel disgust at the
 cruel scenes which they daily witnessed, resolved
 to return home; and before their departure, they
 liberated about two thousand of the people from
 prison. As soon as they had gone, the Zealots, freed
 from all restraint, shed the blood of the citizens with
 less scruple than before, and suffered no one to live,
 from whose courage or rank they apprehended any
 opposition. The ambition, however, of John of Gis-
 chala, created a disunion among them; for, being
 desirous of usurping the supreme power, he per-
 suaded the most profligate of the Zealots to support
 his claims, and acknowledge him as their leader.
 He and his adversaries watched each other with
 jealousy, but seldom resorted to open violence; they
 strove, however, who should commit the greater

oppression and plunder upon the wretched citizens, many of whom were glad to escape from their tyranny by fleeing to the Romans.

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The strong fortress of Masada, which was not far from Jerusalem, was in the possession of a band of assassins and robbers, who, observing the inactivity of the Romans and the seditions of the Jews, made a nocturnal assault, during the feast of the Passover, upon the town of Engaddi. The inhabitants, not having time to arm themselves, fled in confusion; but about seven hundred women and children, who could not effect their escape, were put to the sword. The assassins, having plundered the town, returned to Masada, and afterwards attacked the neighbouring villages, and devastated all the surrounding country. They were continually joined by numbers of men of desperate characters; and when they were combined, though they did not amount to an actual army, yet they formed a band of freebooters powerful enough to attack cities, and ravage all Judæa. As soon as they perceived any danger of being overpowered by their enemies, they fled from the encounter.

The officers of Vespasian, hearing of the dreadful anarchy which prevailed at Jerusalem, advised him to march against the city without delay, and attack the Jews while they were enfeebled by their contentions with each other; but he did not concur with them in this opinion, declaring, that the presence of an hostile army would probably induce their enemies to unite for their common defence, and that it was better to suffer them to destroy one another by their fatal seditions. At the beginning of spring, he marched from Cæsarea to take possession of Gadara, the chief city of Peræa, the principal inhabitants of which had sent ambas-

VESPASIAN, ^{1, 2.}
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sadors to him, offering to surrender it into his hands. He entered it on the fourth of March without resistance, the party who would have opposed him being quite unprepared for his arrival, and being obliged to retreat precipitately before him. They had time, however, to murder Dolesus, one of the most eminent citizens, who appeared to be the projector of the plan for surrendering the city to the Romans. Vespasian, returning to Cæsarea, left Placidus, with three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, to pursue the war on the eastern side of Jordan. With these troops Placidus followed the Jews who had escaped from Gadara, and defeated them at a village where they ventured to rally their forces and offer battle. After this engagement, multitudes of his enemies, fleeing in consternation from all quarters, assembled on the bank of the Jordan, intending to pass over to Jericho, but were prevented by the rains that had swollen the stream. He slew about fifteen thousand of these by the sword, and forced an immense number to leap into the river, where they were drowned. He afterwards extended his victories over all Peræa, as far as the Dead Sea.

Vespasian, having heard of the revolt of Vindex in Gaul, was most anxious to terminate the war in which he was engaged. He marched, therefore, from Cæsarea, and having captured Antipatris and other cities, advanced to Emmaus, which was about sixty furlongs from Jerusalem, and there commanded the fifth legion to encamp. He then penetrated into the centre of Idumea, and, having ravaged that country, returned to Emmaus; and on the third of June he took possession of Jericho, which the greatest part of the inhabitants had deserted.

Josephus relates, that when he came to the Dead Sea he made trial of the extraordinary property of its waters, in which the heaviest bodies were said to be incapable of sinking. He ordered some persons, who could not swim, to be thrown into the sea with their hands tied, and it is reported, that they all of them floated in the miraculous element. Nearly all places, except Jerusalem and a few fortresses, had been now subjugated by the arms of Vespasian; and as he was meditating an attack upon that city, he was informed of the death of Nero. This intelligence suspended his operations; and, when he heard that Galba had been elected emperor, he sent his son Titus to offer his allegiance to him, and to receive directions respecting the prosecution of the war.

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Meanwhile a new tyrant and a fresh sedition had arisen to afflict the miserable inhabitants of Jerusalem. Simon, the son of Gioras, was an aspiring young man, inferior to John of Gischala in cunning, yet surpassing him in courage and bodily strength. At the commencement of the war he had plundered the district of Acrabatene, and committed great excesses there, until he was expelled by the troops which Ananus sent against him. He afterwards joined the robbers, who had taken possession of Masada; but, as their enterprises were too confined to satisfy his ambition, he left them, when he was informed of the death of Ananus, and retired to the neighbouring mountains, where he assembled a powerful force, composed of slaves to whom he offered freedom, and abandoned characters who were allured by his promises of reward. With these troops he every day became more formidable to the inhabitants of the villages and cities which surrounded him; and he

Jos. Bell. Jud.
iv. 9.

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did not disguise that it was his intention to make himself master of Jerusalem, as soon as his men were sufficiently trained for the assault. The Zealots, alarmed by his increasing power, were anxious to crush him immediately, and therefore marched from the city to give him battle; but they were defeated, and returned home with disgrace.

Simon resolved, before he attacked Jerusalem, to undertake the conquest of Idumea; and marching to the borders of that country with twenty thousand men, he fought a battle, which was obstinately contested the whole of the day without any decisive issue on either side. In a subsequent expedition he was so powerfully aided by the treachery of one of the Idumean chiefs, that the army of his enemies dispersed before him, and he entered their country without opposition. He took Hebron, which was said to be the most ancient city in Palestine, and more ancient than Memphis in Egypt, having been founded about two thousand three hundred years. It contained the tomb of Abraham, which was built with fine marble, and was of beautiful workmanship; and not far from the city was a large turpentine tree, which, according to tradition, had existed there since the creation of the world. Having gained considerable booty at Hebron, Simon traversed all Idumea, and desolated the whole country with the multitude of his rapacious followers; for he had now forty thousand men, besides those who carried arms, whom it was difficult to satisfy with provisions, and who changed every place they visited into a desert.

The Zealots, afraid to attack him again in open battle, laid an ambuscade, by which they got pos-

session of his wife and carried her with great exultation to Jerusalem, imagining that he would be disposed to treat with her captors, and willing for her sake to desist from hostilities. But the accident, instead of softening his heart, filled him with revengeful fury; and, bringing his troops close to the city, he seized all persons whom he found without the gates. Some of these he killed in a barbarous manner; he cut off the right hands of others, and, sending them back into the city, commanded them to tell the inhabitants that, unless they restored his wife, he would, according to his most solemn oath, punish them all with equal severity, without any regard either to their age or innocence. This violent threat, and the power which he possessed to put it into execution, so alarmed them that they surrendered his wife, and he returned to commit fresh depredations in Idumea.

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He was not long absent; and, after having driven many of the Idumeans before him into Jerusalem, he surrounded the walls, and commenced the siege of the city. In the mean time the cruelty of John, and the atrocious excesses which he tolerated in his Galilean followers, were the causes of fresh bloodshed. The Idumeans who were in his army rebelled against him, and, having killed many of the Zealots, plundered the palace in which he had amassed the spoils of the oppressed citizens. He and his adherents were obliged to take refuge in the temple; and the Idumeans, fearful that they might sally down and set the city on fire, consulted with the chief priests, and resolved to admit Simon into the city, in order to protect themselves from their fury. Simon, therefore, receiving a deputation of the citizens, which was headed by Matthias the high priest, entered Jerusalem with

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all the arrogance of a conqueror. The people hailed him as their deliverer; but they soon felt that his chief concern was to strengthen his own arbitrary power, and that they had rashly subjected themselves to the domination of two tyrants instead of one. He commenced some assaults upon the Temple; but though his troops were superior in number, they were repulsed by the Zealots, who possessed great advantages in the height and strength of the sacred edifice.

Jos. Bell. Jud.
 iv. 9.

(A. D. 69.)

Vespasian, occupied by the important revolutions which were taking place in the Roman empire, made but little progress in the Jewish war during the year 69. His son Titus, whom he had sent to congratulate Galba upon his elevation, returned to him at Cæsarea, having heard in Greece of the death of that unfortunate prince. On the fifth of June he put his army in motion, in order to reduce those few places which had not yet submitted to his attacks. He advanced as far as Jerusalem, taking many prisoners on his march; and his lieutenant Cerialis ravaged Upper Idumea, and burnt the ancient city of Hebron. Jerusalem, and the three fortressess of Herodium, Masada, and Macherus, which were occupied by bands of robbers, were the only places that defied his arms; and these he was obliged to overlook for the present, being proclaimed emperor (as we have already related) in the month of July, and having to maintain his pretensions against the formidable armies which supported Vitellius. Leaving Cæsarea he visited Berytus in Phœnicia, where he received many embassies from the people of Syria and other provinces. In that city, also, he held a council of his friends and officers; and, having commended the valour of Josephus at

Jotapat, and declared that the prediction which he had uttered had proved to be true and of a divine character, he ordered him to be set at liberty. Titus, wishing to manifest his favour towards the captive, requested that his chains might be broken in pieces, which was a distinction shown to those who had been unjustly deprived of their freedom. Vespasian did not deny him this privilege, and he was liberated with every mark of honour.

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(A. D. 69.)

The Jews, instead of composing their differences and concentrating their force during the respite which the Romans allowed them, weakened themselves every day by the havoc of intestine warfare. Eleazar, a man of considerable power among the Zealots, was so offended with the insolence and tyranny of John, that he seceded from him, and established himself with more than two thousand men in the inner court of the Temple. In this situation he had abundance of provisions, which had been deposited there for sacred purposes, and had also the advantage of standing upon more elevated ground than his adversary John. The Temple, therefore, and the city now became the scenes of continual conflict between three infuriated leaders. Simon, who enjoyed the range of nearly the whole of Jerusalem, endeavoured to eject John from his sacred citadel, but was not successful in his assaults. John was often exposed, at the same time, to the attacks of both Simon and Eleazar; and, although he could repulse the former with darts thrown by the hand, he was obliged to employ engines of war in order to reach the enemy who was above his head. In the midst of their united contests, both Jews and strangers were allowed to visit the Temple, and offer sacrifice as usual; but they did so at the

Jos. Bell. Jud.
v. 1.

VESPASIAN, ^{1, 2.} peril of their lives, for, in the performance of their religious rites, they were often struck with the weapons sent from the engines of John, and the most sacred parts of God's Temple became deluged with blood, and polluted with dead bodies. When the attacks of Eleazar were intermitted on account of the drunkenness or fatigue of his followers, John used to descend into those parts of the city which were open to irruption, and burn the houses where corn and other provisions were collected. After he had retreated, Simon commenced a similar work of destruction. Thus, all the places around the Temple were demolished, and the stores of provisions, which would have enabled them to resist the horrors of famine accompanying a siege, were consumed by them with as much wanton fury, as if they had been fighting against their own country, and intended to assist the designs of their invaders.

A. D. 70.
(A. D. 60.)

CHAPTER V.

Titus prepares for the siege of Jerusalem.—Brief description of the City and the Temple.—Titus advances to Scopus, and the Jews attack his troops on Mount Olivet.—Eleazar is surprised in the Temple, and his troops are reunited to those of John.—Titus clears the ground, and advances his whole army within two furlongs from the city.—Captures the first wall on the northern side.—Captures the second, and, after losing it through his clemency, retakes it in a few days.—Endeavours to persuade the Jews to surrender, but without effect.—A grievous famine begins to desolate Jerusalem.—Titus captures and crucifies a great number of the straggling Jews.—The Jews destroy the mounds and works which the Romans had erected with great labour.—Titus encompasses the city with a wall, which is built in three days.—The famine increases, and destroys immense numbers of the besieged.—Cruelties of Simon and his followers.—Sacrilegious conduct of John.—The miserable fate that befell many of those who deserted to the Romans.

VESPASIAN, being acknowledged emperor in all parts of the Roman dominions, was surrounded at Alexandria by immense multitudes of people, who came to offer him their congratulations upon his extraordinary advancement. As it was not compatible with his new dignity to return to

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Jos. Bell. Jud.
v. 1.
Tac. Hist. v.
11, &c.

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1, 2.

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Judæa, he invested his son Titus with full authority to finish the Jewish war; and Titus marched from Alexandria to Cæsarea, in order to prepare his forces for the opening of the campaign. He had the command of the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth legions, which had served under his father in Judæa; and of the twelfth, which, having been defeated under Cestius, was anxious to obliterate the memory of its disgrace. He was also accompanied by five thousand troops selected from the armies that guarded Alexandria and the banks of the Euphrates. His auxiliary forces were numerous; the kings Agrippa and Sohemus added dignity to his retinue; and Tiberius Alexander, the late governor of Alexandria, was present in order to assist him with his counsel. Many persons from Rome and Italy eagerly offered their services, hoping to ingratiate themselves with a youthful prince, whose mind was not yet occupied with predilections *. Josephus, the Jewish historian, also accompanied him, and became an eyewitness of the dreadful catastrophe which he was destined to record in his writings.

Jerusalem was built on three hills—Mount Sion, which contained the Upper City, Mount Acra, which contained the Lower, and Mount Moriah, on which the Temple was reared. In some places the city was surrounded with deep and impassable vallies, and here a single wall was considered sufficient for its protection; but in other parts, less defended by nature, it was enclosed with three walls. On all these walls, strong and lofty towers were erected at proper distances. One of them, called Psephinus, was seventy cubits high, and from the top of it Arabia might be seen

* *Adhuc vacuum.*—Tac.

on the east, and the whole extent of Palestine on the west as far as the sea. The three towers which Herod the Great built, and which he called Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, from the names of his friend, his brother, and his wife, are pronounced by Josephus to have been incomparable for their magnitude, strength, and beauty. They were not merely fortifications, but were provided with splendid apartments, and were constructed of white marble, the pieces of which were twenty cubits long and ten broad, and were united with so much exactness, that their joints were scarcely visible. Contiguous to these was a royal palace, of great dimensions, fortified with walls and towers, containing chambers in which a hundred guests could sleep, surrounded with colonnades, groves, and canals, and embellished with sumptuous furniture, and utensils of gold and silver.

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A. D. 70.

The sacred Temple was not only the most beautiful, but one of the strongest edifices in Jerusalem. The interior of the outer court was surrounded with cloisters, adorned with three rows of pillars on the north, east, and west sides, and on the south side with four. These pillars, though each was formed of a single piece of white marble, were twenty-five cubits high, and in the centre of the southern cloister they rose to double that height. The roofs of the cloisters were framed of cedar, and if any person looked down from the top of the highest one on the south, the elevation was sufficient to make him dizzy, and his eye could not penetrate to the bottom of the valley, which lay beneath him. Although nine of the gates of the Inner Temple were covered with silver and gold, yet they were surpassed by the tenth, which was called the Beautiful Gate*, and was

* Acts, iii. 2.

VESPASIAN,
 1, 2.
 A. D. 70.

made of Corinthian brass. The front of the Holy Place was richly embellished with plates of gold, which, when struck by the rays of the morning sun, gave a dazzling reflection, that compelled the spectator to turn away his eyes. Those parts which were not gilded were of so exquisite a whiteness, that the edifice appeared at a distance like a mountain of snow. At the north-west corner of the outer court rose the tower of Antonia, which Herod the Great had so called in honour of the Roman triumvir. It was built on a steep rock fifty cubits high, which was overlaid with smooth stones, in order to render it more inaccessible. The tower itself was forty cubits high, and was strengthened with other towers at each of its four corners, one of which, overlooking the temple, was seventy cubits high. The fortress contained all the luxuries and conveniences of a palace, and before the war was occupied by a garrison of Roman soldiers, who could descend thence by passages into the cloisters of the Temple. This brief description will be sufficient to enable the reader to understand the operations of the siege.

Titus advanced against Jerusalem in the beginning of April; and when he was about thirty furlongs from it, he marched forward with a select body of six hundred cavalry, in order to reconnoitre the strength of the city, and ascertain the disposition of the inhabitants, who, he had heard, were desirous of averting the miseries of war, but were overawed by the tyranny of their rulers. As he was proceeding without any apprehension of danger, he was suddenly surrounded by the Jews, who cut him off with a few others from the rest of the troop. With instant resolution, he spurred his horse through the midst of his enemies, and,

though protected with neither helmet nor cuirass, escaped unhurt from the multitude of darts that were aimed at him. Two of his companions being slain, the rest retreated to their camp, and the Jews were elated by the petty advantage which they had gained. On the following day, Titus advanced with all his troops to Scopus, which was distant only seven furlongs from Jerusalem on the north side. He ordered two of his legions to encamp there, and another at a short distance in the rear: the tenth legion was to take its station on Mount Olivet, which was on the east of Jerusalem, and separated from it by the valley of Cedron. The Jews, astonished at the rapid progress of their enemies, resolved to attack this tenth legion; and by falling upon it unexpectedly, while many of the Romans were without their arms and engaged in the work of fortifying their camp, they created great panic and confusion. Titus, apprized of the danger which threatened the legion, hastened with some troops to its succour, and, having rallied the fugitives, attacked his enemies in flank, and compelled them to retreat across the valley. The Jews continued the fight with obstinacy until noon; after which, Titus placed a guard to prevent any further assault on their part, and ordered the soldiers of the tenth legion to return to the mount, and proceed with the fortification of their camp. The Jews, imagining that their enemies intended to flee, made a fresh onset, and attacked the Roman guard with such impetuosity, that they broke their ranks, and forced them to retreat up the mountain. Titus, with a few of his bravest men, had to sustain the whole fury of the assailants. The soldiers of the tenth legion, who were on the top of the mountain, beheld with consternation the sudden flight of

VESPASIAN,
 1, 2.
 A. D. 70.

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their comrades; and it was not until they saw the imminent peril of Titus, that they had sufficient courage to renew the battle. The shame of deserting their prince and commander at length carried them into action, and enabled them to drive the Jews a second time beneath the shelter of their fortifications.

After these engagements on Mount Olivet, the Jews and Romans abstained for a short time from attacking each other. During this interval the feast of the passover occurred, and on so solemn an occasion Eleazar ventured to open the gates of the Inner Temple, and allowed his countrymen to pay their customary adoration to the God of their fathers. The crafty John sent a band of his followers, who, having gained admission under pretence of devotion, suddenly threw aside their garments, and showed themselves armed and prepared for battle. The followers of Eleazar, seized with sudden terror, did not await the conflict, but, fleeing on all sides, concealed themselves in the subterranean parts of the temple. The inoffensive citizens, who were assembled around the altar and the sanctuary, were wounded and trodden under foot, and many were slain from motives of private revenge with which the assailants were actuated. Although the innocent were insulted and destroyed, the followers of Eleazar were pardoned when they re-appeared from their places of concealment. They amounted to two thousand four hundred men, and continued to bear arms under him as before; but they ceased to be a separate band, being placed under the supreme command of John. Thus, the faction of Eleazar was destroyed, and John became master of the Inner as well as the Outer Temple, while Simon tyrannized over the inhabitants of the city. This

last chief had ten thousand men under his command, besides five thousand Idumeans: John had six thousand, in addition to those who had joined him with Eleazar. These are all the regular troops mentioned by Josephus; but the city was crowded with an immense number of residents, who had flocked thither on account of the passover, many of whom would be vigorous defenders of a fortified town, although they might not be formidable soldiers in an open plain. Tacitus says, that arms were in the possession of all who could carry them, and that the women were inspired with the same resolution as the men—to die rather than suffer exile from their beloved country.

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Titus employed his troops for four days in levelling and clearing the ground between Scopus and Jerusalem. The hedges and walls, which surrounded the gardens, were demolished, the trees were cut down, and the hollow and precipitous places were made convenient for the approach of a large and cumbersome army. While he was engaged in this necessary work, part of the Jews pretended that they were expelled from the city by their countrymen, while others, standing upon the walls, proclaimed their readiness to accept of terms of peace, and to open their gates to the Romans. As Titus had on the preceding day made overtures to them, which had been haughtily rejected, he suspected the artifice which they were now practising; but the foremost of his troops, devoid of similar caution, marched hastily to the walls, where they were assailed with stones and darts, and did not effect their retreat until many of their comrades had been killed or wounded. Provoked by this disaster, he threatened to put to death the soldiers who had presumed to fight without the

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orders of their commander ; but as it was dangerous to punish so great a number, he allowed himself to be softened by the entreaties of the rest of the troops, who sued for their forgiveness. As soon as the ground was made sufficiently accessible, he advanced his whole army, until he was only two furlongs distant from the city. He himself pitched his camp opposite the tower of Psephinus, which was on the north-west corner of the wall : a detachment of his army was placed at the tower of Hippicus, a little farther on the north ; while the tenth legion remained in its former station on Mount Olivet, the very spot where Christ had predicted to his disciples the destruction of the magnificent buildings of the Temple*.


Titus having reconnoitred the wall, and discovered the part that was least defensible, ordered his soldiers to cut timber, and raise mounds against it. The troops of Simon brought forth the engines, which had been taken from the army of Cestius, or found in the castle of Antonia ; but they were so inexpert in the use of them, that they inflicted but little injury on their adversaries. The Romans on the contrary shot stones, which weighed a talent, and were carried the distance of two furlongs with irresistible impetuosity. When they found that the brightness of these stones enabled the Jews to distinguish their approach, and to guard against them, they took the pains to blacken them, in order that they might be less easily discerned. As soon as their mounds were completed, they attacked the wall with so much noise and violence, that the besieged were terrified by the urgent danger, and thought it prudent to forget their intestine quarrels. Simon gave public permission to

* Matt. xxiv. 2.

the troops that were in the Temple, to ascend the wall, and John did not withhold his consent. The Jews, thus united, made vigorous sallies against the works of the Romans, and endeavoured to burn their machines; and on one occasion they had nearly succeeded, when Titus advanced with a body of horse, and killed with his own hand twelve of the foremost of the assailants. The wall gradually yielded to the impression of the tremendous battering-rams, and the Jews, wearied with fighting and watching, were less zealous in defending it, because they relied upon the two other walls which enclosed the city in that quarter. The Romans, therefore, entered the breach without opposition, and took possession of the first wall on the fifteenth day of the siege, which was about the twenty-eighth day of April.

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Titus now fixed his camp within the city, having made himself master of all the most northern parts, as far as the brook Cedron. The defence of the second wall was vigorously maintained by the Jews, the troops of both John and Simon taking their respective shares in the combat. The attacks of the besiegers, and the sallies of the besieged, were made continually during the day; and night brought them but little repose, as the fear of some sudden assault would not allow them to disencumber themselves of their armour. Titus, however, made a breach in the second wall, five days after he had captured the first, and entered it with above a thousand of his troops. He would not suffer them to slaughter the citizens, nor to set fire to their houses; and he even forbore to widen the breach in the wall, vainly hoping to conciliate the Jews by his generous clemency. But the seditious, ascribing his conduct to fear rather than humanity,

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 A. D. 70.  slew such of their countrymen as dared to propose a surrender, and made an attack upon the Romans both within the wall and without it. Being acquainted with the narrow and circuitous parts of the city, they overpowered the Romans that had - passed the wall, and compelled them to return with loss and confusion through the breach, which was not wide enough to allow them a precipitate retreat. Thus Titus lost, by his humanity, the advantage which he had gained by his valour. He soon, however, recovered it; for on the fourth day afterwards, which was the seventh of May, having repulsed the Jews, he captured the wall a second time, and ordered the whole of it to be destroyed.

Hoping that the Jews would by this time be convinced of the danger of protracting the siege, he allowed them a respite of several days, during which he reviewed his troops, and gave them the pay which was due to them. The Roman legions, splendid in their accoutrements, and terrible in their discipline and courage, were marshalled in glittering array before the devoted city, the inhabitants of which had leisure to survey the appalling spectacle from their houses, from their lofty Temple, and from the single wall which now separated them from their adversaries. With whatever secret fears the sight might have inspired them, their seditious leaders would not suffer any desire of peace to be openly evinced; and, therefore, on the fifth day Titus commanded his soldiers to begin the mounds, which would be necessary for the assault of the Upper City and the Temple. Those, who were selected to commence the works against the city, were opposed by the Idumeans and the other troops of Simon; while the assailants against the castle of Antonia and the Temple were encountered

by the soldiers of John. In both places the Jews were stronger than the Romans, being assisted by the elevated ground on which they stood, and having acquired, by practice, a considerable skill in the use of the engines for throwing darts and stones. With these they obstructed the besiegers in the raising of their works; so that Titus again endeavoured to open some negotiation with them. Josephus was commanded to address them in their native language; and, although he was not admitted into the city, he harangued them before the wall, and assured them of the clemency which they would experience from the Roman general, if they were ready to abstain from their fruitless resistance. He appealed to many periods of their national history, in order to convince them that they ought not to hope for victory, unless they were protected by God; and that God would assuredly deny his protection to those, who had insulted him by every species of crime and impiety. As a proof that the succour of the Almighty was withdrawn from their nation, he alleged that Siloam, and the springs without the city, which had nearly failed before the commencement of the siege, had emitted copious streams since the coming of the Romans, not only supplying them and their cattle, but furnishing enough for the irrigation of the gardens*. The same extraordinary event (he declared) had happened formerly, when the city was captured under king Zedekiah. But these and all other arguments, wherewith Josephus endeavoured to save his countrymen from impending ruin, were treated with derision by the most powerful part of the

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* Dion, on the contrary, says (lxi.), that the Romans suffered greatly from the scarcity of water; but his mutilated account of the war cannot be fairly adduced in opposition to that of Josephus.

VESPASIAN, ^{1, 2.} Jews, and some of them even assailed him with
A. D. 70. darts.

Many of the people, however, were ready to forsake the city, on account of the grievous misery which they began to experience in it. They, therefore, sold their possessions for a few pieces of gold, which they swallowed, and then deserted to the Romans, who allowed them to depart wherever they pleased. The gold which they swallowed was voided from their bodies, and became the means of their future subsistence.

Those who remained in the city were doomed to suffer not only the tyranny of their barbarous rulers, but the visitation of famine, which now began to aggravate the horrors of the siege. Many were content to sell all they had for a single measure of wheat or barley, which, however, they could not eat without fear of being surprised by some rapacious oppressor, who would tear it from their hands. The pangs of hunger, rending the closest bonds of natural affection, instigated children to snatch the victuals from the mouths of their parents, and parents from the mouths of their children. The seditious multitude broke into private houses in search of provisions, dashed the morsels of food from the lips of the famished, and inflicted the most inhuman torments upon them in order to make them produce some pittance which they had concealed. Even the poor wretches, who had wandered from the city by night in order to collect a few wild herbs, were compelled, after they had escaped the vigilance of the Roman guard, to surrender their petty booty to their merciless countrymen, and congratulated themselves that their blood was not shed at the same time. As to the richer class of citizens, they were sacrificed to

malicious and false accusations, being charged with some treasonable plot, or with an intention to desert to the Romans, in order that their property might be seized by the tyrants. Simon and John, though at enmity in other respects, maintained sufficient concord in their schemes of plunder; for if one commenced the spoliation of any devoted victim, he graciously allowed the other to complete it.

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As the number of those who straggled from the city in search of food and plunder increased every day, Titus commanded his cavalry to watch for and intercept them. Some of them were soldiers, who were incited by a love of rapine to quit the walls; but the greater part of them were poor citizens, who could not secretly desert in company with their wives and children, and who would not leave their dearest kindred in the hands of barbarous oppressors. These unfortunate wanderers were so numerous, that the Romans captured about five hundred of them every day; and as it was dangerous to liberate and difficult to guard them, Titus suffered his men to put them to an ignominious death. After being scourged and tortured, they were suspended on crosses; and the historian relates, that there were not crosses sufficient for the bodies, nor room sufficient for the crosses. Although the natural humanity of Titus made him commiserate these sufferers, yet he hoped, that such examples of severity exhibited before their eyes would intimidate the Jews, who callously rejected his proposals of mercy. It failed, however, in producing any salutary effect; for the Jews artfully represented to their countrymen, that the persons they saw crucified before their walls were those who had deserted to the Romans, and that such was the recompense for confiding in the

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promises of a treacherous enemy. Titus, thus foiled, ordered that the hands of some of the captives should be cut off, and that in this condition they should be sent back to the city, in order that they might apprize the besieged, that his vengeance was exercised against those only, who would not spontaneously trust to his mercy. The Jews, however, with pertinacious infatuation, scorned every expedient that he could devise to bring them to submission, and imagined, while they were profaning the city and temple of God by their multifarious crimes, that the mere possession of those sacred places would save them from destruction.

The Romans, after continual labour for seventeen days, had succeeded, by the twenty-ninth of May, in raising four great mounds, two against the castle of Antonia, and two against the city wall. John, whose office it was to defend the castle, had caused a mine to be dug under the works of the besiegers; and this being filled with combustible materials, and the beams which supported the earth being consumed by fire, the mounds of the enemy were precipitated into the chasm. The Romans were terrified at the smoke and flame, which they saw issuing from the ground, but made no attempt to extinguish the conflagration, as the mounds were already destroyed. Two days after this exploit, the soldiers of Simon, emulating the zeal of their comrades, made a furious sally against the other two mounds, on which the Romans had already fixed their battering engines, and were making with them a dangerous impression on the wall. Three Jews, with an intrepidity not surpassed by any of their countrymen during the whole siege, advanced with torches to the works of

the Romans, and, notwithstanding the numerous assaults to which they were exposed, effected their purpose of setting fire to the engines. The Jews sallied from their walls, in order to spread the destructive flame, while the Romans hastened from their camp to extinguish it; but the attack of the former was so impetuous, that they completed the destruction of the mounds as well as of the machines erected upon them. Having routed the Romans in all directions, they pursued them even to their camp; but the arrival of Titus obstructed their victorious career, and forced them to retreat into the city.

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The Romans were greatly dispirited at seeing the fruits of their long and arduous labour destroyed in the space of a few hours. Titus thought it necessary to deliberate with his officers on the best mode of pursuing the siege; and while some advised him to make an assault upon the wall with his whole forces (for hitherto only part had been employed at one time) others considered it more prudent to surround the city with his army, and endeavour to subdue its unyielding defenders by famine. Titus, reflecting on the danger of one of these plans, and the tediousness of the other, resolved to encompass the city with a wall, which would enable him to conduct his operations with greater security, and prevent the Jews both from escaping, and from receiving any provisions into the city. A wall, therefore, was built, beginning from the place where Titus had pitched his own camp, and being carried round all those parts of Jerusalem which were not yet taken. Its circumference was thirty-nine furlongs, and it had thirteen forts for garrisoning the troops; yet so great were the

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alacrity and diligence of the Roman soldiers, that they completed the whole work in three days.*

Jerusalem being enclosed on all sides, the famine extended its dreadful devastations among the inhabitants. The houses, the lanes, and the streets, were filled with the dying and the dead ; and those, who had strength to wander about, were swollen as if they had been afflicted by dropsy, or had the emaciated appearance of spectres, more than of living creatures. Amidst so much misery, a dismal silence reigned throughout the city ; there was little weeping or lamentation to be heard, for the sufferers, absorbed in their own intense wretchedness, could feel no sympathy for others, but, mournfully casting their eyes towards the Temple, the God of which had now forsaken them, they died in mute and desperate anguish. The dead bodies accumulated so fast, that it became necessary to throw them without ceremony into the vallies around the city ; and the sight of so many putrefying corpses affected Titus with such horror, that he raised his hands and invoked heaven to witness, that he was not the voluntary author of this terrible destruction. It was computed, that, before the first of July, no less than an hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, had been carried out from a single gate of the city. This was a small portion of those who perished : many expired without any account being taken of them, and when it became troublesome to remove the bodies of the poor, they were piled together in large houses, which were shut up as if they had been sepulchres.

* The reader will remember the prophetic declaration of Christ concerning Jerusalem ; *The days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.* Luke, xix. 43.

The tyrants and their followers did not in the least relent at the spectacles of misery and death which surrounded them. Forcing their way into the houses, they plundered the living and the dead of the clothes which covered them, wantonly lacerated the corpses, or thrust their swords through some of the wretched creatures, who had not yet expired. But if any one, impatient of a lingering death, besought them to terminate his misery, they scornfully refused such a service, and left him to perish by the slow pangs of hunger. Simon, regardless of all gratitude as well as humanity, commanded Matthias, one of the high priests, to be put to death, although it had been chiefly by his authority, that the people had been persuaded to admit Simon into the city. This important service being forgotten, Matthias was doomed to die, under pretence that he was going to desert to the Romans, without being permitted to defend himself against the charge. His three sons were condemned to suffer with him, but a fourth had already escaped from the tyrants, and sought the protection of Titus. Matthias requested, as a small boon for having opened the gates of the city to Simon, that he would not constrain him to witness the execution of his sons; but the barbarous chief, deriding his parental feelings, ordered his three children to be slain before his eyes, and the bodies of them and their father to be cast away without burial. Many other persons of eminence were afterwards killed by Simon. His atrocities were rivalled by John, who, having exhausted all other means of plunder, sacrilegiously melted the vessels that were used in the service of the temple, and the gifts which had been presented by Augustus and other foreigners. The wine and the oil, which it was usual to pour on

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the sacrifices, were distributed among his impious followers, who, as he averred, had a right to live of the Temple, while they fought for the Temple. In recording so many enormities of the Jewish leaders, Josephus is filled with indignant horror, and declares his belief, that if the Romans had not been appointed to chastise such monsters, some earthquake, or deluge, or such a destruction as visited Sodom, would certainly have consumed the city. He constantly ascribes the overthrow of Jerusalem to the heinous crimes of the inhabitants; and no one, unless he was enlightened by the predictions in the Gospel, could acknowledge the over-ruling power of God in that tremendous catastrophe with a deeper conviction, than that which is professed by the Jewish historian.

The cruelty of their rulers, and the horrors of famine, constrained many of the Jews to desert to the camp of the besiegers; but even there the destruction, from which they hoped to flee, awaited them in other forms. Some perished by devouring too great a quantity of food, which their bodies, weakened by long abstinence, were unable to digest. Some were murdered on account of the gold which they had swallowed; for when the Arabians and Syrians, composing the auxiliary troops of the Roman army, were informed that the deserters came to them with this internal treasure, they laid wait for them, and cut open their bodies with greedy barbarity, killing about two thousand of them in a single night: even some of the Roman soldiers were guilty of this novel crime. Titus would have executed all the offenders, if they had not been too numerous to be made examples of his just vengeance. He endeavoured, by threats and vigilance, to prevent a repetition of

such atrocities; but avarice outweighed his authority, and many of the barbarians continued to slaughter the deserters secretly, although they did not always find in their bodies the spoil which they expected. The dread of such a fate diminished the number of desertions; and the miserable Jews might lament, that there was no refuge from their enemies, who were intent upon their destruction, both within and without the walls.

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CHAPTER VI.

Titus orders fresh mounds to be raised, and takes the outer wall of the castle of Antonia.—A few days afterwards he takes the castle itself.—The daily sacrifice, offered in the Temple of Jerusalem, ceases.—Engagement of the Romans and Jews in the outer court of the Temple.—They burn the western and northern cloisters of that court.—During the terrible famine a Jewish woman kills and devours her own son.—The Romans attack the Inner Temple, and set fire to the cloisters in the court of the women.—The Holy House is set on fire without the knowledge of Titus, and is consumed notwithstanding all his efforts to preserve it.—A dreadful carnage is made of the Jews, and all parts of their Temple are destroyed.—The prodigies, portending the destruction of the Temple, recorded by Josephus and Tacitus.—Simon and John seek a parley with Titus, but refuse to submit.—The Romans receive a great number of deserters, and, having made a breach in the wall, take possession of the Upper City.—The different fates of the captives, and the immense number of Jews who perished in the siege.—John and Simon, after concealing themselves in caverns, are forced to surrender to the Romans.—Demolition of the city.

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TITUS, not satisfied with the plan of merely blockading the Jews by means of the wall which he had thrown round the city, ordered fresh mounds to be

raised for the purpose of assaulting the castle of Antonia. The Romans, in constructing their former works, had cut down all the trees that were in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem ; and they were compelled to convey the timber, that was necessary for their present operations, from a distance of ninety furlongs. The plantations being destroyed, and the gardens demolished, the environs of Jerusalem presented a scene of utter desolation, and would scarcely have been recognized by any one, who had admired them in their former verdure and beauty. The Romans, notwithstanding the difficulty they experienced in procuring materials, completed four large mounds in one-and-twenty days, and guarded them with the greater vigilance, as they were mindful of their former disaster, and considered that the issue of the war depended upon their present circumspection and valour. The besieged made a sally against the works, before the battering-rams were fixed ; but, as they did not advance with their former unanimity and vigour, and their enemies were resolutely prepared for the encounter, they returned without any success. The Romans, when they began to work their engines, appeared to make no impression on the outer wall of the castle of Antonia ; but, by the labour of sapping, they displaced four of its stones, and at night the wall fell down, being weakened by the concussion of the battering rams, and by the excavations which John had formerly made under it when he destroyed the Roman mounds. The joy of the assailants at this unexpected success was soon diminished, when they observed that an inner wall had been raised by the Jews to oppose their progress. The attack of this second wall appeared so perilous an enterprise,

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that Titus made an earnest appeal to the courage of his soldiers, and promised the highest rewards to those who would undertake it. Sabinus, a Syrian, who was of mean stature, but possessed of the most heroic courage, voluntarily devoted himself to the work, declaring his readiness to die for his prince and commander. His courageous example was imitated by only eleven others, whom he led to the attack, and, having mounted the wall, was putting the Jews to flight, when he stumbled over a stone, and after his fall was overwhelmed by the darts of his adversaries. Three of his companions were killed, and the others, being covered with wounds, retreated to the camp; for Titus, instead of commanding his troops to second their valour, had left too much to their spontaneous courage, and allowed them to remain inactive spectators of the fight.

Two days subsequent to this repulse, a small band of Romans marched silently, about three o'clock in the morning, to the wall of the castle, and, having massacred a few of the guards, ordered a trumpeter, whom they had brought with them, to sound his instrument. The Jews, awakened by the terrible blast, fled in consternation, their fear not allowing them to compute the small number of their adversaries. Titus, admonished and cheered by the same sound, hastened to the support of his victorious troops, and quickly made himself master of the castle. The outer court of the Temple, which adjoined it, would also have fallen into his possession, if the Jews had not by this time recovered from their alarm, and hastened to the defence of the sacred precincts. The troops of Simon and John, being united, fought with desperate valour, considering that utter

ignominy and defeat would follow the loss of the Temple. Titus, therefore, who was accompanied by only part of his forces, was obliged to be content with the conquest of Antonia; although he might probably have established himself in the court of the Gentiles, if all his soldiers had been animated with the courage of the centurion Julian. This brave warrior, when he saw the Romans retreating before their enemies, descended to the scene of combat, and forced the Jews to retreat to the corner of the inner court. While every one was amazed at his achievements, the nails in his shoes caused him to slip on the marble pavement of the temple, and his antagonists prevented him from rising again on his feet. He fiercely defended himself in his recumbent position, and was at last killed in the sight of his comrades, who wanted the courage, and of Titus, who had not the power, to bring him the succour which his exploits had deserved.

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The castle of Antonia was taken on the fifth of July, and on the seventeenth* of the same month the daily sacrifice offered in the Temple was omitted, as there was no one to perform the service. This cessation of their holy rites produced great sadness and dismay among the considerate Jews, as it seemed to portend the destruction which was about to fall upon their sanctuary. Josephus, who had lately been wounded on the head while exhorting his countrymen to submission, was again entrusted with a peaceful message from Titus, and commanded to inform John, that the sacrifices might be performed by any persons he pleased to select, and at the same time to beseech him not to pollute the Temple and destroy the city, but, if he

* Tillemont thinks, that there is some error in the text of Josephus, and that instead of the seventeenth we should read the seventh or the tenth.

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was desperately resolved upon fighting, to come out with as many men as he chose, and encounter the Romans. John scorned these proposals, declaring, with infatuated presumption, that Jerusalem could not be taken, because it was God's peculiar city. Many, however, of the principal Jews were persuaded that its destruction was inevitable; and though some were afraid of deserting, others seized the first opportunity of escaping to the Romans. Titus received them with great humanity, and, knowing their abhorrence of pagan customs, allowed them to retire to Gophna, promising that, when the war was finished, he would re-instate them in their possessions. The seditious, noticing their disappearance, craftily alleged that they had been murdered by the Romans; and Titus, in order to confute the calumny, sent for the men, and exhibited them before the walls. The sight of them induced others to desert; but nothing could convince or soften the seditious, who, despising the appeals of their own countrymen, as well as of the Romans, converted the holiest parts of the Temple into a fortress, and filled its courts with heaps of dead bodies.

Titus, having offered in vain to respect the sanctity of the Temple and to preserve the place from destruction, was obliged to resort again to arms. Selecting the bravest of his troops, he commanded them to attack the guards of the Temple at a late hour of the night, hoping to surprise them, as before, in their sleep. But the Jews were this time more vigilant, and met their enemies with readiness and intrepidity. The darkness of night, and the narrow space in which they fought, created such confusion, that the combatants often slew friends instead of foes. The battle continued

with unabated fury until near mid-day, and though the Romans were animated by a consciousness that Titus and their countrymen beheld their exploits from the castle of Antonia, they could gain no advantage over their resolute opponents. After eight hours of obstinate fighting, victory had not rewarded their labours, but each side remained in the same position as before.

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Titus had ordered that a broad road should be made to the castle of Antonia, in order that his legions might approach the Temple; and when this was completed, they began to raise their banks on the northern and western sides of the outer court. The Jews, finding themselves so closely assailed, set fire, on the twenty-second of July, to the north-west cloister, which was contiguous to the castle, and destroyed about twenty cubits of it. Two days afterwards, when the Romans began to burn part of the cloisters, the besieged calmly permitted the conflagration to spread, and assisted in the demolition, until the castle was quite detached from the other buildings of the Temple. Every day the Holy Mount became the scene of fierce tumult and bloodshed; and the contest seemed to be emblematical of the religious condition of the two parties, the Jews striving with fruitless pertinacity to repel the Gentiles from the temple of God, which was now thrown open to all the nations of the earth. On the twenty-seventh of July the besieged, having placed the proper materials for ignition under the roof of the western cloister, retired, as if they were weary of defending that part of the edifice. Many of the Romans, deceived by the stratagem, ascended by ladders to the deserted station, and on a sudden were terrified by the flames, which issued against them on

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all sides. Some were immediately destroyed by their fury, and others were dashed to pieces by leaping from the lofty cloisters; those who escaped the fire were surrounded and slain by the Jews, and some anticipated their enemies by plunging their swords into their own bosoms. Titus and the Romans below were condemned to see their countrymen perish without the power of rescuing them. A young soldier named Longus, whose courage had attracted the admiration of the Jews, was promised by them that his life should be spared, if he would voluntarily come down to them; but, when his brother Cornelius advised him not to sully his own fame and that of the Romans by such a submission, he raised his sword and killed himself in sight of the two armies. Another soldier, whose name was Artorius, seeing himself nearly surrounded by the flames, called aloud to his comrade Lucius, and promised to make him his heir, if he would catch him as he leaped from the perilous height. The simple Lucius consented, but, instead of inheriting his property, was crushed to death beneath his weight, while Artorius himself was saved. When the fire had expended its fury, the Jews cut off the remaining part of the western cloister from the adjoining buildings; and, on the following day, the Romans burnt the whole range of the northern cloister, as far as the valley of Cedron. Thus two sides of the outer court of the Temple were completely laid open.

In the mean time, the famine within the city was instigating the wretched inhabitants to almost incredible atrocities. The smallest portion of the vilest food became the object of furious contest between friends and relatives. The robbers and the seditious citizens began at last to feel the

pangs of that dreadful necessity, to which they had wantonly reduced their countrymen. They entered the same houses several times in the day, and searched the very dying, for fear they should be counterfeiting the agonies of death, in order to conceal some precious morsel of food. Such refuse was consumed, as in ordinary times the filthiest animals would loathe; and shoes, belts, and the leather torn from shields, were made to answer the inexorable cravings of hunger. These substitutes for food had been innocently used in many sieges; but at Jerusalem one repast was prepared of so horrid a nature that, although it was not without precedent*, we trust it will never again have a parallel in the longest and darkest annals of human misery. Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, was a woman of eminent birth and ample property, and had resided in the country beyond Jordan, until the invasion of the Romans had compelled her, with many others, to seek refuge within the walls of Jerusalem. In this devoted city the cruel and rapacious soldiers despoiled her of all the wealth which she had amassed; and, when the famine extended its ravages, they came to her every day to rob her of the food which she had provided. Infuriated by hunger, and the unceasing insult and persecution to which she was exposed, she conceived the horrible thought of murdering the infant son whom she was nourishing at her breast. Why (she argued within herself) should she preserve his life, which must either be spent in slavery under the Romans, or consumed by the slow torments of hunger, or destroyed by

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* According to Josephus, there was no record that such an atrocity had ever been committed by the heathen nations; but Scripture informs us, that it was not unprecedented in the history of the Jewish people. See 2 Kings, vi. 29; Lament. iv. 10.

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the cruelty of the tyrannical citizens, which was more to be dreaded than either the fury of the conquerors or the violence of the famine? Why should he not rather feed the wretched mother, who could no longer feed him, especially as such a death would be a provocation and defiance to her oppressors, and add to the Jewish name the last stain which was wanting to its infamy? Transported by these diabolical ideas, she slew the offspring of her own womb, and, having roasted the body, devoured one half of it, and concealed the other. When the robbers, in their daily visit, inhaled the smell of the unnatural repast, they threatened to murder her, if she did not instantly produce the remnant of the food on which she had been regaling. "I have not" (she replied) "I have not defrauded you of your share," and she immediately showed them the mutilated limbs of her child. While they were fixed in a stupor of amazement, "This" (she exclaimed) "is my own son, and my hands have killed him. Come, finish the banquet which I have begun. Surely you do not pretend to be more delicate than a woman, or more tender-hearted than a mother; but, if you are really so fastidious, leave me to eat the remaining half of my victim, as I have already eaten the other." The men, who were hardened by a familiarity with the most barbarous actions, trembled at such an instance of maternal ferocity, and left the house in silent horror. The rumour of the monstrous deed was quickly spread throughout Jerusalem, and every one shuddered at living in a city which was so polluted, and envied the fate of their countrymen who had perished without witnessing the commission of such wickedness. The Romans in general, when they heard the tragical story,

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were incited to a still deeper hatred of their Jewish adversaries. Titus declared that the city, in which such a crime had been perpetrated, was too odious to be visited by the light of the sun, and ought to be destroyed from the face of the earth; he protested, however, as before, that it was not his implacable rigour which had driven the Jews to such extremities, but that his offers of peace and forgiveness had been repeatedly scorned by them. Many readers, in considering the conduct of the wretched infanticide, will probably be induced to believe, that she did not imbrue her hands in the blood of her son until she was driven frantic by almost intolerable sufferings. The paroxysms of hunger, inflamed by the daily taunts and injuries of her merciless oppressors, seem to have destroyed the clear exercise of reason in her soul, before they extinguished the warmest feelings of nature. It is to be remembered, however, that Moses * had threatened his countrymen, that when they apostatized from God, *they should eat the fruit of their own bodies, the flesh of their sons and of their daughters, in the siege and in the straitness, wherewith their enemies should distress them.* Christ also, in pointed allusion to similar afflictions, had said, *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.* †

At the beginning of August the Romans commenced battering the walls of the Inner Temple; but when the prodigious size and the compact juncture of the stones seemed to defy the assault of

* Deut. xxviii. 53.

† Luke xxiii. 28, 29.

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their engines, they attempted to scale the cloisters which were situated between the gates. The Jews, having permitted part of them to ascend, attacked them with great fury, precipitated some of them backwards, and threw down the ladders which were crowded with armed assailants. Titus, grieved at such a sacrifice of his troops, gave orders that the gates should be set on fire; and the flames, after melting the silver with which they were covered, caught the wood, and at length spread their fury to the cloisters themselves. The Jews were so overawed by the afflicting sight, that their efforts were paralyzed, and, standing in torpid amazement, suffered the fire to spread to the several cloisters of that part of the edifice, which was called the Court of the Women. On the following day, which was the ninth of August, Titus commanded his men to extinguish the fire, and consulted with his officers, whether the most revered parts of the temple, called the Sanctuary and the Holy House, should be burned down, or saved from the general destruction. Some declared their opinion, that, while those places existed, the Jews who assembled to worship there would always be fomenting rebellion. Others thought, that they ought not to be destroyed, unless the Jews obstinately defended them; but when Titus declared, that it was not becoming to wreak their fury upon inanimate objects, and that the preservation of such an edifice as the Holy House would confer honour upon the Romans, the majority of his officers acceded to his generous sentiments. It was resolved, therefore, among the Roman chiefs, that in the assault, which was soon to be made, the sacred building should be preserved; but the divine counsel, more powerful than the will of Titus or of any earthly potentate, had long ago decreed that it should be destroyed.

Early on the tenth of August, the Jews sallied from the eastern gate of the Inner Temple, and attacked the Roman guards, who bore the onset with great courage, and, after contending for four hours, compelled them to retreat to their former position. Titus retired to his tent, imagining that hostilities had ceased for that day, and intending to storm the Temple the next morning with all his forces. The Jews, however, after a short repose, made another attack: the Romans again put them to flight, and in pursuing them some of the foremost advanced as far as the Holy House. A soldier, finding himself in this situation, yielded to the impulse of his own fury, and, without waiting for the sanction of his officers, seized a brand, and, being uplifted by one of his comrades, set fire to the devoted building through one of its windows. As soon as the flames arose, a messenger ran to inform Titus of the unexpected event; and the general hastened to the scene, followed by his officers, and soon afterwards by the soldiers of the several legions. He earnestly vociferated, and raised his hand, to his troops who were fighting with the Jews, in order to induce them to extinguish the fire; but his voice was drowned in the furious din and tumult, and his signals were unheeded. The legions rushed into the Temple with such violence, that some of the men were trodden under foot, others were overwhelmed in the ruins of the smoking cloisters; but all were intent upon havoc and bloodshed, and instigated their comrades to extend rather than quench the conflagration. Titus, accompanied by his officers, advanced into the most holy parts of the Temple, and was convinced by his own observation, that the fame of its beauty and splendour had not been exaggerated by

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the credulity of foreigners, or the partiality of the Jews themselves. As he found that the fire had not yet reached further than the chambers which surrounded the Holy House, he hoped that the principal parts of the edifice might still be saved, and commanded that his soldiers should be beaten back, and restrained by violence, if they presumed to spread the devouring element. But their animosity against the Jews, and the fury with which they inspired one another, were irresistible; especially when they saw the gold wherewith various parts of the costly structure were embellished, and believed that immense treasures were deposited within. Titus, in his benevolent zeal, hastened to repress their rage: at his departure one of the soldiers secretly set fire to a gate, and in a short time the flames gained such an ascendancy, that no further attempt was made to subdue them.

The Jews who were in the Temple uttered a piercing cry of horror, when they first beheld the fire issuing from that sanctuary, which they esteemed the most august and most holy place upon earth, in which all their feelings of veneration and piety were concentrated, and with the preservation of which they had lately associated their strongest hopes of deliverance from the arms of their heathen invaders. The terrified spectators in the city returned the lamentation when they saw the holy mountain enveloped in flames; and many, whose strength and power of utterance had been almost destroyed by the famine, opened their lips once more in shrieks of uncontrollable anguish. The hills around Jerusalem echoed the dreadful tumult, which was made by the noise of the irresistible flames, the crash of falling buildings, the shouts of the infuriated legions, and the groans of

those who sank into the conflagration, or were transfix-
 ed by the sword. An unsparing carnage was made of many thousands of the Jews; for the Temple, it should be remembered, was the place of worship not merely of a single city or province, but of a whole nation; and a great multitude had assembled in it this very day, trusting to the declaration of an impostor or enthusiast, who had promised them, that they should receive some extraordinary tokens of deliverance. The impious rulers had suborned many false prophets, for the sake of reviving the hopes and supporting the courage of the people; and now the end of their delusions had arrived. Josephus says, that the blood which was shed seemed sufficient to extinguish the fire, while the number of the slain appeared greater than that of the slayers, so prodigious were the heaps of dead that everywhere covered the ground. Old and young, women and children, soldiers and priests, were massacred indiscriminately. The seditious leaders with their troops fled, during the tumultuous conflict, into the outer court of the Temple, and afterwards escaped into the Upper City. Some of the priests* defended the Holy House until the last moment, tearing up the spikes which were on the top of it, and hurling them at the Romans. As the conflagration spread, two of the most eminent threw themselves into the flames, and the rest retreated to a wall, which was eight cubits thick, where they were able for a time to defy the attacks of the Romans. Famine, however, compelled them to surrender in a few days, and Titus refused to spare their lives, alleging that priests

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* These priests must have entered the temple subsequently to the seventeenth of July, because at that time there was no one of their order to offer the daily sacrifice. They, probably, as well as the people, were deluded by some false prophet to expect a miraculous deliverance from their enemies.

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ought not to survive the Temple in which they served. At the first assault, about six thousand of the mixed multitude who had been surprised in the Temple took refuge in one of the cloisters of the outer court; but the exasperated Romans set fire to it, and forced them to perish in its ruins. They began to burn all the cloisters, gates, and other parts of the spacious edifice, which had hitherto resisted their destructive attacks. Even the treasury chambers, where the Jews had deposited great stores of money, vestments, and other valuable property, were consumed. But the love of plunder was not quite absorbed in the rage of destruction; for the soldiers enriched themselves to such an extent, that in Syria the price of the pound weight of gold was diminished one half.

Josephus relates, that the Holy House was burnt down on the tenth day of the month Lous, (which corresponds to our August,) and he adds, that on the very same day of the year it had been formerly destroyed by the Babylonians. According to the tradition and custom of the Jews*, the destruction ought to be dated on the ninth rather than the tenth of the month; but as the Inner Temple was burning on both of those days, the difference is unimportant. Both Josephus and Tacitus record some prodigies, which seemed to portend the awful event; but we smile at the Roman historian, who remarks, that the superstition of the Jews did not permit them to expiate these prodigies by the vows and sacrifices that were customary in the pagan religion†. A comet

Jos. Bell. Jud.
 vi. 4.
 Tac. Hist. v.
 13.

* See Lightfoot's *Fall of Jerusalem*, Sect. 1.

† His words are remarkable, as coming from a writer who is often dignified with the epithet of philosophical. *Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostis neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.*—Hist. v. 13.

had been seen for a whole year; and, although modern philosophy has taught us to regard such a phenomenon with indifference, yet it was always viewed by the ancients as the harbinger of some fearful occurrence. A more extraordinary appearance was exhibited in the heavens, when, before sunset, chariots and bodies of armed men were seen traversing the clouds, and besieging cities. The Temple was disturbed by nocturnal miracles. At a late hour of the night, the altar and the Holy House were illumined with a great lustre, which for the space of half an hour equalled the brightness of daylight. On another night, the eastern gate of the Temple, which was made of brass, and was so heavy that it required the strength of twenty men to shut it, appeared to open of its own accord, and the captain of the guard was summoned to witness the prodigy, and to see the gate closed again. At the feast of Pentecost, as the priests were going to perform their sacred functions in the Temple at night, they were terrified by a mysterious agitation and tumult, and afterwards heard the voice*, as of a multitude, saying, "Let us depart hence." A living and persevering prophet denounced to the Jewish people the calamities which were about to befall them. This was a peasant named Jesus, the son of Ananus, who, four years before the commencement of the war, when his country was enjoying a prosperous tranquility, began suddenly, at the feast of Tabernacles, to exclaim: "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, and a voice from the four winds: a voice

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* This, in the opinion of the eloquent Bossuet, was the voice of the departing angels. *Les saints anges, protecteurs du temple, déclarèrent hautement qu'ils l'abandonnoient, parceque Dieu, qui y avoit établi sa demeure durant tant de siècles, l'avoit reprouvé.*—Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle.

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against Jerusalem, and a voice against the Temple : a voice against the brides and the bridegrooms, and a voice against the whole people." This melancholy proclamation was uttered by him, wherever he went, in the night as well as the day. The Jews, offended by his ominous words, brought him before Albinus, the Roman procurator, by whom he was severely scourged: but, instead of weeping or lamenting for his own sufferings, he exclaimed at every stroke which he received, "Woe, woe to Jerusalem." This too was the only reply which he made to all the interrogatories of Albinus, who at last dismissed him as a madman or fanatic. With unwearied zeal he continued for more than seven years to utter the same denunciation, and his cry was more than usually vehement at the great Jewish festivals. To those who relieved him with food, and to those who insulted him with blows, he made the same dismal response; and at last the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans was the fulfilment of his prediction, and the term of his own fate. For as he was walking round the wall earnestly exclaiming, "Woe to the city and Temple, and woe to the people," he suddenly added, "Woe to me also," and was immediately killed by a stone shot from one of the engines of the besiegers. The conduct of this Jesus, in proclaiming his prophecy so many years before the war, and in repeating it with so much dauntless perseverance, is certainly remarkable; but how little does his vague annunciation deserve to be compared with the clear and descriptive predictions of Jesus, the son of David*. All the prodigies related by Josephus, are scarcely of so much importance as his testimony, that the Jews were incited to wage war

* See Matt. xxiv. Luke, xxi.

with the Romans by a prophecy contained in their sacred writings, that about that time a ruler of the whole earth should arise from their country. This persuasion of the Jews is noticed by Tacitus and Suetonius, as well as Josephus, and all three historians allege that the prediction was verified in Vespasian, who was raised to the imperial dignity while he was in the distant land of Judæa. Devout Jews might groan bitterly at the melancholy frustration of their pious hopes, if the loftiest spirit of prophecy had been vouchsafed to their forefathers for the purpose of announcing the rise of Vespasian, who was not merely a heathen, but appeared in their country only with the sword in his hand, and as the desolator of their cities. Scarcely any Jew but Josephus, who was corrupted by his admiration of, and gratitude to, the Romans, would apply to a hostile pagan the sublime predictions relative to Messiah, the King, who was to be the glory of the people of Israel, as well as the spiritual ruler of the Gentiles. Christians, however, are indebted to the authority of Josephus, and the Roman historians, for the incidental assurance, that the age in which Christ actually appeared, was so nearly identical with that in which he was generally expected by the Jews.

The Romans, having expelled their enemies from the temple, reared their idolatrous standards upon the once sacred spot, and offered adoration to them; at the same time they saluted Titus with the appellation of Emperor, in testimony of the joyful success which had crowned his arms. Simon and John, who had fled into the Upper City, were at length so humiliated, as to desire a parley with Titus; and he did not refuse their petition. A conference was held across the bridge, which connected

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the Temple on its western side with Mount Zion*. Titus, after upbraiding the Jewish chiefs with their pertinacity, which had been so injurious to themselves and their country, promised that he would still spare their lives, if they would lay down their arms, and surrender themselves to his mercy. They replied, that they were bound by an oath not to submit, but that if he would allow them to pass with their wives and children through the Roman fortifications, they would relinquish the city to him, and retire into the desert. Provoked at the audacity of men, who in their hopeless condition presumed to dictate their own terms to the conqueror, he declared, that he would no longer show any mercy to the Jews, that he would attack them with all his strength, and not deviate from the strictest rules of war. His soldiers, therefore, having received permission to burn and pillage, set fire to various parts of the Lower City; but when the sons and brothers of Izates, King of Adiabene, and other eminent persons, sought his protection, he did not practise a cruelty which was alien to his nature, but merely detained them as prisoners. The seditious Jews carried away all the plunder they could collect in the Lower City, and spread the devastating fire with as much alacrity as the Romans themselves. They massacred about eight thousand of their own countrymen, who had taken refuge in the royal palace, and, lying in wait, slew all whom they found deserting to the Romans. Josephus once more expostulated with them upon the barbarity and madness of their conduct, and was again rewarded with their derision.

* In most, or, I believe, in all the plans of Jerusalem which I have seen, Mount Zion is placed at the extreme south. This is contrary to Scripture (Psalm xlviii. 2), and scarcely reconcilable with the history of Josephus. If the reader is curious in sacred topography, he may consult Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, ch. iv.

The precipitous situation of the Upper City condemned the Romans to the labour of preparing fresh mounds, which were erected principally on the western side of the wall. The chiefs of the Idumeans, foreseeing the destruction which menaced them, sent five of their countrymen to treat with Titus concerning a surrender; but, after he had engaged to preserve their lives, the treaty was discovered by Simon, who slew the five messengers, imprisoned the commanders of the Idumeans, and carefully watched the movements of their troops. But no vigilance could prevent the constant defection of those, who would rather trust the clemency of the angry Romans, than of their own comrades and countrymen. Not only was Titus willing to spare their lives, but his men had become weary of putting them to the sword; many, therefore, were sold as captives, although their numbers made their value exceedingly small; and above forty thousand were permitted to disperse wherever they pleased. Two of the priests saved their lives by delivering to Titus the golden candlesticks, tables, phials, and other costly utensils of the Temple, together with the habiliments of the sacerdotal order, and stores of cassia, and other aromatic spices. The Romans, having completed their mounds on the seventh of September, made an attack upon the wall; and as soon as a breach was effected, the Jews, who retained but little spirit and energy for the combat, abandoned the defence as hopeless, and fled in great confusion. The two chiefs, Simon and John, might have fortified themselves in Hippicus and the other towers, which are described as impregnable, and where they could not have been compelled to surrender except by famine; but, in the alarm or infatuation of their minds, they forsook these posts,

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and endeavoured to force their way through the Roman line of circumvallation. Being repulsed in their feeble attack, they and their followers separated into different bands, and concealed themselves in some of those subterraneous vaults, or caverns, with which the hills of Jerusalem seem to have abounded. The Romans, surprised at the easy termination of so obstinate a war, marched triumphantly into the city, slaying every one that they met, and setting fire to the houses; but, when they entered the abodes of the conquered in search of plunder, they retreated with horror from the spectacle of rooms full of the corpses of whole families, who had miserably perished by famine. They continued, however, the carnage until the evening, and the unwearied fire raged during the whole night. On the following day, which was the Jewish sabbath, Titus entered the city; and to this day, the eighth of September, the date of its capture is generally assigned. The victorious general was so amazed at the strength of the lofty towers which the Jews had deserted, that he declared the Romans had certainly been favoured by the assistance of God, who had instigated their enemies to relinquish such fortifications, as no strength nor art of man could overturn.

As the soldiers were fatigued with incessant slaughter, Titus commanded that they should spare such of the Jews as did not carry arms, nor offer resistance. This injunction was disobeyed with regard to the weak and the aged, who were slain as an useless multitude: all the rest of the Jews, who survived, were driven to the Temple, where Fronto, one of the friends of Titus, was to decide their fate. Those who had been guilty of robbery

and sedition were slain, upon the mutual accusation one of another. The most tall and comely of the youths were selected to adorn the triumph of the conqueror; others, above the age of seventeen, were doomed to work in the Egyptian mines, or to perish by the sword, or by wild beasts in the amusements of the amphitheatre; but those who had not yet attained that age were to be preserved for the miseries of slavery. While this adjudication of their several fates was proceeding, eleven thousand of them were starved to death, either through the cruelty of the guards, or their own despair; and the Romans, probably, were not very solicitous to preserve the lives of so many captives, whose sustenance was a burden to them. The number of those who were made prisoners during the whole war is reckoned by Josephus at ninety-seven thousand, and of those who perished in the siege at eleven hundred thousand; nor is it incredible that so many should be destroyed in a single city, if we reflect upon the havoc occasioned by the famine and the intestine tumults, and remember that Jerusalem, according to a computation which was made of the paschal lambs, received within its walls above two millions and a half of worshippers fit to partake of the sacred feast of the passover.

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Simon and John, the principal authors of so much unparalleled misery and destruction, did not escape unpunished. The latter of these chiefs, being destitute of food, soon emerged from the cavern in which he had concealed himself, and, imploring the mercy of the victors, was suffered to live, but doomed to spend the remainder of his days in a prison. The Romans, pursuing their enemies into their subterranean retreats, killed as

so Jos. Bell. Jud.
vi. 9, vii. 2, 5.

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Titus, before his departure from Jerusalem, commanded his troops to dig up and destroy all parts of the city, excepting the western wall, which was to serve as a garrison for the tenth legion, and the three towers of Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, which were to be left as evidences of the strength of the Jewish fortifications, and trophies of Roman valour. According to the Hebrew writers, Terentius Rufus * "*ploughed up* the place of the Temple, and the places about it;" and it is remarkable, that the greatest enemies of Christ should bear testimony to the literal accomplishment of his prediction, that one stone should not be left

* He is called by them "Turnus Rufus, the wicked one;" and it is probable that he completed the destruction which Titus began. See Lightfoot's *Fall of Jerusalem*, sect. 1.

upon another*. Such was the destruction of **VESPASIAN**,
 Jerusalem, one of the most extraordinary events
 in the civil or religious history of the world.
 The multitude of her inhabitants, the security of
 her natural position, and the strength of her lofty
 ramparts, seemed almost sufficient to defy the arms
 of her invaders, if the anarchy of her citizens had
 not introduced famine within her walls, and per-
 plexed all her counsels with discord and confusion;
 and even under the lamentable misrule to which
 she had surrendered herself, she might many a time
 have accepted, without dishonour, the conditions
 which the Roman conqueror so readily offered.
 But her fall was predetermined by that Almighty
 Ruler, whom she had provoked by her unpardon-
 able crimes. After the overthrow and continued
 desolation of her Temple, her religious constitution,
 as established by God, necessarily ceased to exist;
 and the experience of every succeeding century
 has demonstrated, with increasing clearness, that
 her precincts are no longer the favoured abode of
 the Most High, and that her children are no more
 His peculiar people.

* Luke, xix. 44.

CHAPTER VII.

Titus protects the Jews at Antioch, and laments the destruction of Jerusalem.—He and Vespasian celebrate a joint triumph at Rome.—Joy of the citizens, when Vespasian arrived at Rome, and the care with which he laboured to restore the prosperity of the state.—Lucilius Bassus takes the fortress of Herodium.—The citadel of Macherus surrendered to him after the capture of Eleazar.—The lands of Judæa put to sale, and the Jews commanded to pay their yearly half-shekel into the Capitol, instead of the Temple.—The fortress of Masada captured by the Romans.—Antiochus, King of Commagene, accused of treacherous intentions against the Romans.—Although he abstains from war, his kingdom is reduced to a Roman province.—The Alans ravage the kingdoms of Media and Armenia.—Greece and other countries deprived of their liberty.—Vespasian makes the last census of the Romans, and dedicates the Temple of Peace.—Commands Helvidius Priscus to be put to death, and expels the disaffected philosophers from Rome.—Earthquake in Cyprus, and pestilence at Rome.—Discovery and death of Julius Sabinus, and his faithful wife.—Conspiracy of Cæcina and Marcellus.—Death of Vespasian.—His mode of life, virtues, covetousness, &c.

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TITUS, being released from the labours of war, employed the remainder of the year in visiting the cities of Phœnicia and Syria, where he exhibited

splendid games, in which many of the Jewish captives were slaughtered, burnt, and exposed to wild beasts. When he arrived at Antioch, he found the inhabitants thirsting for revenge against the Jews, who resided in great numbers in their city, and who were now accused of being the authors of a conflagration, which had consumed the market place, and had nearly proved destructive to the whole town. The mischief had really been occasioned by some needy debtors, who imagined, that, if they could destroy the bonds and public records, they would annihilate the claims of their creditors. The malignant calumny of Antiochus, an apostate Jew, imputed the crime to his unfortunate countrymen; and the natives of the city, believing the accusation, entreated Titus to expel the odious race from their walls. Without acceding to their petition, he hastened from Antioch to Zeugma, which was situated upon the banks of the Euphrates, and there he was met by the ambassadors of Vologeses, the Parthian king, who presented to him a golden crown in token of his victory over the Jews. When he returned to Antioch, the citizens again besought him to expel the Jews; but he replied, that the country of that miserable people was laid desolate, and there was no other place where they could take refuge. They next importuned him to order the removal of the brazen tablets, on which their rights and privileges were engraven; but he rejected all their solicitations, and departed for Egypt. On his way to that country, he revisited Jerusalem, the scene of his late sanguinary conflicts, and evinced such marks of commiseration as might be expected from so generous a disposition as his, at beholding the dismal ruins of the captured city, and comparing her former strength and magnificence with her

VESPASIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 70.
Jos Bell. Jud.
vii. 3.

VESPASIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 71.

VESPASIAN, ^{2, 3.}
 A. D. 71. present state of solitude and devastation. He could not forbear to execrate those, whose obstinacy had been the cause of so much destruction, and had compelled him to inflict a more terrible chastisement, than either the glory or the vengeance of a conqueror demanded.

Having embarked at Alexandria, he hastened to Rome, and although the senate decreed separate triumphs to him and Vespasian on account of their exploits, they resolved to exhibit to the Romans the extraordinary spectacle of a father and his son triumphing in conjunction. Josephus describes, with astonishment, the varied works in gold and silver, ivory and precious stones, which floated before the spectators in one continuous stream, and the immense pageants, in which the storming of fortresses, the capture of cities, and the desolation of provinces were accurately represented. Seven hundred of the most tall and comely of the Jews, marched in the procession; and Simon, whose courage, if it had not been debased by excessive cruelty, should have entitled him to a better fate, appeared in the captive throng, and was then executed. The golden table, taken from the Temple of Jerusalem, the golden candlestick with seven branches, and the sacred volume of the Law of Moses, were exhibited among the spoils; and with these relics of the ancient worship of the true God were mixed statues of pagan divinities, and images of Victory constructed of gold and ivory. The Law, and the purple veils of the Sanctuary, were deposited in the palace of Vespasian; the other spoils of the Temple were destined to adorn a new edifice, which was to be built under the title of the temple of Peace. The temple of Janus was closed; and both Titus and Vespasian

Dion. lxxvi.

were saluted with the appellation of *Imperator*, on account of their achievements, but neither of them assumed the cognomen of *Judaicus*. The deep scorn and hatred which prevailed between the Jews and Pagans probably rendered such a title by no means an object of ambition.

VESPASIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 71.

Vespasian had arrived at Rome during the latter months of the preceding year, and had been received with all those marks of congratulation and joy, which would probably have been paid to any newly created prince, but which in his case were the well-merited proofs of the reasonable expectations of the citizens. The senate and the people, afflicted by the bloodshed and rapine of civil warfare, hoped to enjoy security and peace under an emperor, who was recommended by the calmness of mature age, and the wisdom of experience. Even the soldiers, although they might regret the spoil that was to be gained amidst the revolutions of their country, could not but remember the disgrace which they had incurred by the incapacity of their leaders, and desire to enrol themselves under a chief, who would once more make the Roman army respected and feared. Upon the news, therefore, of his approach, Rome poured forth her eager inhabitants to greet him with an unfeigned welcome; he received every one with gracious affability; and, when he entered the walls, the city smoked with incense, and resounded with the songs of festivity, and the prayers of those who invoked a blessing upon Vespasian and his family. He endeavoured to requite this cordial reception by a vigilant attention to the interests of those whom he governed, and by exerting himself to recover the state from the injuries inflicted on it by the long-continued rage of civil anarchy. Although his own elevation had been

Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 8, &c.
Dion. lxxvi.

VESPASIAN,

2, 3.
A. D. 71.

effected by the favour of the soldiers, yet he saw the necessity of curbing the licentiousness of men, who were either inflamed with the insolence of victory, or exasperated by the ignominy of defeat. He disbanded, therefore, most of the Vitellian troops; and, instead of pampering the pride of his own legions by unreasonable indulgence, he was even tardy in paying the rewards which were due to them. Anxious not only for the general discipline of the army, but for a manly simplicity of habits in those who composed it, he reproved a young officer who came to him scented with perfumes, by declaring, that it would have been more agreeable to him if he had smelt of garlick; and then revoked the commission which he had lately bestowed upon him. When the couriers of the fleet, who used to run from Ostia and Puteoli to Rome, requested that they might have some grant for shoe-money, he not only resisted the petition, but commanded them to run in future without shoes. In the civil departments of the state he laboured to establish justice, regularity, and order. The law suits, which during the turbulence of the times had been suffered to accumulate to an unusual extent, were decided with as much speed as possible. He himself often administered justice in the forum. He also appointed commissioners to restore such property as had been plundered during the excesses of war. In order to repair the losses which the city had suffered by fire and devastation, he allowed any one to build on the empty spaces of ground, if the owners delayed to cover them with edifices. He made a revision of the senatorian and equestrian orders, removing unworthy members, and supplying their places with the most honourable persons selected from Italy and the provinces. He

constantly attended the senate, and allowed the fathers a just share in the deliberation upon all public matters. He was accessible to all ranks of citizens, the doors of his palace being open and unguarded; and even before the termination of civil discord, he abolished the suspicious custom of searching those who came to pay their respects to the prince. Senators, and even persons of inferior rank, were frequent guests at his table, and he often enjoyed the pleasures of conviviality in the houses of his intimate friends. In short, by a careful and prudent administration of public affairs, he sustained the dignity of an emperor; but in all other respects he conducted himself with the ease and courtesy of a private citizen.

VESPASIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 71.

Although the Jewish war was virtually terminated by the capture of Jerusalem, the three fortresses of Herodium, Macherus, and Masada were still to be reduced by the Roman arms. The first of these places was soon taken by Lucilius Bassus; but Macherus, situated on a lofty rock, surrounded by deep vallies, and protected by walls and towers, seemed to oppose almost insuperable obstacles to the attacks of a besieger. Bassus, however, commenced his operations; and the Jews, ascending to the citadel, compelled the strangers, who were with them, to remain in the lower part of the fortress, and undergo the first perils of the assault. They made, however, frequent sallies upon the Romans, and no one was more courageous in his onsets, nor more skilful in his retreats, than a young warrior named Eleazar. After one of his irruptions, he presumptuously tarried without the gates, conversing in a heedless manner with the guards upon the wall, as if no danger was to be apprehended from any of the besiegers. But a

Jos. Bell. Jud.
vii. 6.

VEASPASIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 71.

soldier in the Roman army, observing his blind security, suddenly rushed upon him, and, before the astonishment of the Jews allowed them to render any assistance, carried him away prisoner to the camp. Bassus ordered his captive to be stripped, and scourged in sight of his countrymen; and when he saw the grief and consternation with which the spectacle afflicted them, he erected a cross, as if he was going to suspend him upon it. The horror of the Jews was increased by the danger which threatened their beloved chieftain; and when he besought them not to doom him to so painful a death, and was supported by the intercession of his powerful relatives, they agreed to surrender the citadel on condition that Eleazar and themselves should be suffered to depart in safety. The Romans acceded to these terms; but the unfortunate strangers in the Lower City, not being parties to the capitulation, had no hope but in the free mercy of the conqueror. When they planned an escape by night, the Jews betrayed their intention to the Romans. The boldest, however, saved themselves in defiance of all their enemies; seventeen hundred men, who were taken in the city, were put to the sword, while the women and children were preserved for slavery. The wood of Jarden afforded protection to many fugitives from both Jerusalem and Macherus; but Bassus, marching against them, surrounded their post with his cavalry; and while they fought with desperation, they were all slaughtered to the amount of three thousand, only twelve men being killed on the side of the Romans.

While the Jews were thus destroyed or dragged into captivity, orders were issued by Vespasian, that all the lands of Judæa should be offered for

sale; but Emmaus was reserved as a settlement for the conquerors, eight hundred veterans being allowed to fix their habitation there. The sum of two drachmæ, or half a shekel*, which every Israelite used to pay yearly into the Temple of Jerusalem, was now to change its destination, and to be paid into the Capitol of Rome. It is also recorded, that Vespasian made a search for those who were of the race of David, being anxious to destroy the descendants of the royal house. But it is probable that policy, rather than cruelty, was his motive for this persecution, as he might learn from Josephus and others, that the Jews expected a deliverer, who was to spring from that favoured lineage. As, moreover, he was an agent of the Divine Power in overturning the religious dispensation of the Israelites, so also he might be employed to annihilate all their reasonable hopes of seeing any future king arise from that stock, which they believed was to give birth to their Messiah.

VESPASIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 71.

Eus. iii. 12.

After the death of Bassus, Fulvius Silva undertook the siege of Masada, which was occupied by a band of assassins under the command of a resolute chief named Eleazar. The fortress, which nature and art had combined to render almost impregnable, was first encompassed by the Romans with a wall, in order to prevent all egress of the besieged. A mound was raised in the only place where such a work was practicable, to the height of two hundred cubits; upon this a pile of stones was laid, fifty cubits high and fifty wide; and above the whole, a tower of sixty cubits, covered with plates of iron, upreared its threatening head. A huge battering-ram, placed on this elevation, shattered the wall of the fortress; and the besieged, in order

VESPASIAN.
3, 4.
A. D. 72.

* Exod. xxx. 13.

VESPASIAN,

3, 4.

A. D. 72.

to protect themselves, raised a structure of earth, which was kept together by large beams, and, yielding to the blows of the battering engines, became more firm by the continual impact. Silva, observing this effect, commanded his men to throw flaming torches upon the wood-work; but when the fire spread, it was carried by a north wind against the faces of the Romans, and seemed to threaten the destruction of their machines. The wind, however, suddenly veering to the opposite point, soon enveloped the Jewish rampart in flames; and the Romans, elated by so extraordinary a change, retired to their camp, with a confident expectation of succeeding in their assault on the following day. Eleazar, perceiving the desperate situation in which himself and comrades were placed, and reflecting upon the miseries which their wives and children would suffer by being enslaved to the Romans, proposed that all who were in the fortress should perish by the hands of each other. The project was too dreadful to be readily embraced by all upon the first announcement of it; but, when he expatiated upon the ruined and abject condition of their country, and appealed to their sentiments of glory, their desire of revenge, and their hope of immortality in a happier state of existence, they were animated with a fierce contempt of death, and became eager to obey the directions of their intrepid leader. All their property, being collected together, was consumed by the flames; but they resolved to spare the provisions, that the Romans might not suppose that they had been conquered by famine. Ten men were appointed by lot to be the executioners of all the rest; and the devoted sufferers, men, women, and children, stretching themselves on the ground by the side of their

dearest relatives, and giving and receiving their last embraces, patiently yielded their bodies to the blow which was to destroy them. When the ten alone survived, the lot was again cast, and he on whom it fell dispatched the other nine, and, resolutely surveying the scene of wilful carnage, lest any of the dying should need his last assistance, he set fire to the fortress, and slew himself near the corpses of his own relations. In this horrid slaughter nine hundred and sixty persons, of different ages and sexes, were self-immolated; and only two women and five children, who had taken refuge in a cavern, escaped to relate the catastrophe. On the following morning, when the Romans advanced to the assault, they were amazed at the absence of their antagonists, and the dreary silence in which the conflagration arose from the walls. A shout which they raised attracted the women from their subterranean retreat; and the victors could scarcely believe the recital which they heard from them, nor could they rejoice in the sanguinary triumph which they had gained over so many infatuated but courageous adversaries. The fall of Masada, the last of the tragic events of the Jewish war, took place on the fifteenth of April, more than eighteen months after the capture of Jerusalem.

VESPASIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 72.

Antiochus, king of Commagene, who had hitherto enjoyed the friendship of Vespasian, was accused by Cesennius Pætus, the governor of Syria, of a treacherous intention to cast off the alliance of the Romans, and seek that of the Parthian monarch. As his capital, Samosata, situated upon the Euphrates, would afford a convenient post for the occupation of a Parthian invader, Vespasian did not neglect the danger, but commanded his

Jos. Bell. Jud.
vii. 7.
Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 8.

VEASPASIAN, ^{3, 4.}
A. D. 72. governor to provide against the threatened revolt. Pætus instantly marched into Commagene; and Antiochus, instead of resisting the attack, quietly withdrew to a plain, about fifteen miles distant from his capital, intending to prove his innocence by the most passive submission to the power of the Romans. Samosata was occupied by the troops of Pætus, while the general himself marched against Antiochus, who was inflexible in his plan of abstaining from all hostile operations. But his two sons, Epiphanes and Callinicus, the former of whom had assisted Titus in the siege of Jerusalem, were impelled by the natural ardour of youth to try the fortune of war, in defence of themselves and their country. In an engagement which they fought with Pætus they displayed the most resolute valour, and, after a whole day's contest, were in no way inferior to their adversary. Notwithstanding this successful resistance, Antiochus fled with his wife and daughters into Cilicia; and his subjects, finding themselves deserted by their monarch, submitted to the Romans. Epiphanes, accompanied by only ten horsemen, sought the protection of Vologeses, the king of Parthia, who generously received him with the same courtesy, that he would have paid him in the hour of prosperity. A centurion was dispatched by Pætus with orders to seize Antiochus, and conduct him in chains from Tarsus to Rome; but Vespasian, mindful of their former intimacy, commanded that the unfortunate monarch should be released from his ignominious bonds, and, granting him a princely revenue, allowed him to reside at Lacedæmon. Epiphanes, through the intercession of the Parthian king, was afterwards suffered to go to Rome; his father obtained the same privilege, and

the royal exiles were flattered there with all those marks of honour, to which their former rank entitled them. Josephus doubts, whether Antiochus was really guilty of the project which was ascribed to him; and, from all the circumstances of the war, and from the treatment which he experienced, it seems most probable that he was unjustly accused. But, whether innocent or not, his kingdom of Commagene underwent the fate of the rest of Syria, being reduced to a Roman province in this or the following year.

VEASPASIAN,
3, 4.
A.D. 79.

About the same time the Alans, whom Josephus denominates Scythians, resident near the Palus Mæotis, made a sudden irruption into Media, and pillaged the whole country with irresistible fury. Pacorus, the king, fled before them, and was obliged to pay a heavy ransom for the liberation of his wife and concubines, who had fallen into their hands. The invaders continued their desolating progress into the neighbouring country of Armenia, where King Tiridates ventured to meet them in battle. He was nearly entangled in a net which one of the barbarians cast over him from a distance, and would have been made prisoner, if he had not quickly extricated himself by his sword. After ravaging Armenia, the Alans returned to their own country, enriched with booty. Even the king of Parthia was apprehensive of their attack, and not only solicited succours from Vespasian, but requested that one of the emperor's sons should take the command of them. Domitian was exceedingly eager to obtain this appointment; but his father was too prudent to interfere in the uncertain wars of distant barbarians.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 2.
Dion. lxxvi.

In the foreign affairs, which came more immediately under his direction, Vespasian exercised a

Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 8.

VESPASIAN,
 4, 5.
 A. D. 73.

strict and vigorous authority. Greece, which had been liberated by Nero, was again subjected to the Roman yoke; and Lycia, the isles of Rhodes and Samos, and the city of Byzantium, were condemned to the same fate. The Byzantines were not free in the time of Claudius, who released them from the payment of tribute for a period of five years, and it appears that they afterwards obtained their entire liberty, until they were again deprived of it by Vespasian. Thrace and Cilicia were before considered as Roman provinces; but it seems that some parts of those countries continued under the rule of native princes, until Vespasian annulled their sway. He quartered some legions in Cappadocia on account of the frequent incursions of the barbarians; and, instead of a Roman knight, a person of consular rank was invested with the command.

Tac. Ann. xii.
 63.

VESPASIAN,
 5, 6.
 A. D. 74.
 Censor. 18.

Vespasian and Titus, in the rank of censors, made a computation of the Roman citizens, and performed the *lustrum*; and after their time this ancient custom is said to have been discontinued.

VESPASIAN,
 6, 7.
 A. D. 75.
 Dion. lxxvi.
 Jos. Bell. Jud.
 vii. 5.

The temple of Peace, which Vespasian had resolved to build after the termination of the Jewish war, was dedicated this year. It was embellished with paintings and statues; and, besides containing the golden vessels taken from the temple of Jerusalem, it became the depository of many rare productions, which were formerly dispersed in various parts of the world. A colossal statue, more than a hundred feet high, was erected in the Sacred Way. It was intended originally for Nero; but on account of the disgrace of that prince, it appears to have been surmounted with the more honourable effigy of the head of Titus.

Dion. lxxvi.
 Suet. viii.
 (Vesp.) 15.
 Tac. Hist. iv. 5.

While foreign nations were awed by the power of Vespasian, and the citizens in general were contentedly obedient to his sway, he was engaged in

an acrimonious contest with the philosophers. The chief instigator of this opposition was Helvidius Priscus, a man who would have merited the highest encomium for his virtues, if he had not been misled by an intemperate and unseasonable zeal. He was born at Terracina, and was the son of Cluvius, a centurion of the first rank. Being desirous of fortifying his mind against all the vicissitudes of fortune, Priscus devoted himself in early youth to the teachers of the Stoic philosophy, who inculcated the splendid dogma, that virtue and honour were the only advantages on earth, and that rank, power, and other extraneous distinctions were to be contemplated with indifference. In such a school he learned to despise riches, to be unshaken by fear, and calmly to pursue the path of rectitude in all the affairs of civil and domestic life. Those, who scrutinized the defects of his character, censured him for cherishing too great a desire for fame, which is a weakness seldom eradicated from the most virtuous breasts*. At a time when he had not risen above the rank of quæstor, he was deemed worthy to marry the daughter of Pætus Thræsea; and when that virtuous man was put to death by Nero, he was so far implicated in his punishment, as to be banished from Italy. He was recalled by Galba; and in the senate, of which he was then a member, he made several attacks upon Marcellus, the accuser of his father-in-law. As soon as Vespasian was raised to the imperial power, he commenced a violent and not very reasonable oppo-

VESPASIAN,

6, 7.
A. D. 75.

* Milton, who in his *Lycidas* calls Fame "that last infirmity of noble minds," has given a paraphrase of the words of Tacitus: *Quando etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exurit*.—Hist. iv. 5. I am afraid, however, that in the order in which we cast off our vices and frailties, we never arrive at the *last*; because in that case we might become immaculate creatures.

VESPASIAN,
6, 7.
A. D. 75.

sition to that prince, either from motives of private antipathy, or from that love of republican freedom which he had imbibed. Being prætor in the year 70, he contemptuously omitted the emperor's name in his edicts, and, when he arrived in Italy, saluted him with only his private appellation of *Vespasian*. The system of reproach and insult, which he pursued against the emperor, once obliged the tribunes to apprehend him; but on this occasion Vespasian merely rose from his seat, and, leaving the senate with evident confusion and grief, observed, that his son was destined to succeed him, and no one else. By this declaration he insinuated, that the hostility of Priscus was not so patriotic as he pretended, but was sharpened by the hopes of private ambition. The intolerable contumely of the man at length compelled Vespasian to banish him, and afterwards to issue an order for his death, which, under the influence of his natural clemency, he wished to recall; but he was deceived by the false intelligence that he was already slain. Thus Priscus perished, imitating the stern freedom of his father-in-law Thrasea, with whom (according to the description of Juvenal) he used to celebrate the birthdays of Brutus and Cassius, crowned with garlands, and quaffing the most generous wine. But if he inherited Thrasea's ardent love of liberty, he was not guided by his calm prudence and deep discrimination. Thrasea's opposition was a virtuous indignation, which did not allow him to give any sanction to the odious crimes of Nero, however much they were abetted by the applause of others. But Helvidius displayed his love of freedom by an indiscreet hostility and vexatious acrimony against a prince, whose age and virtues entitled him to the respect of all the Romans. If Thrasea and Hel-

Sat. v. 30.

vidius secretly longed for the restoration of the republican government, the former was too wise to expect to gain his end by frivolous altercations with his prince, while the other rashly sacrificed his life in the undignified contest.

VESPASIAN,
6, 7.
A. D. 75.

As many of the sect of the Stoics abused the privileges of philosophy in uttering public discourses unfavourable to the government of Vespasian, he was induced, by the advice of Mucianus, to banish them all from Rome, except Musonius Rufus. Demetrius, a Cynic, was exiled to a certain island; but when this punishment seemed to inflame the asperity of his anger, Vespasian sent him a message, declaring, that although he had given him every provocation to put him to death, yet he would not kill a barking *dog*. To understand the force of this allusion, it should be remembered, that the appellation of *Cynic* is derived from the Greek word signifying "a dog."

Among the few remarkable events which distinguish the latter years of Vespasian, Eusebius records, that an earthquake overthrew three cities in Cyprus, and that a pestilence raged at Rome with so much violence, that for some time it destroyed nearly ten thousand persons daily.

VESPASIAN,
7—8.
A. D. 76—78.
Eus. Chr.

Julius Sabinus, who had been one of the leaders in the Gallic insurrection, was at length drawn from that retreat, in which he had buried himself for the space of nine years. After the defeat which he had suffered from the Sequani in the year 70, he had set his villa on fire, and, causing a rumour of his death to be disseminated, had concealed himself in a kind of subterranean tomb, which was known only to two of his faithful freedmen. Although he might have gained protection among the Gauls or Germans, he is said to have preferred this extra-

VESPASIAN,
10.
A. D. 79.
Tac. Hist. iv.
67.
Dion. lxi.

VESPASIAN,
 10.
 A. D. 79.

ordinary seclusion, in order that he might not be separated from the society of his wife Epponina*, to whom he was ardently attached. But to give greater credibility to the report of his death, even she for a time was suffered to believe it, and to lament, with unaffected grief, the supposed loss of her husband. The pleasing secret, however, was soon revealed to her, and she was able to visit Sabinus in the darkness of night, and on other occasions which the ingenuity of love would easily contrive. In consequence of these stolen meetings she became the mother of two children, who were reared in the subterranean habitation where they were born. She even conducted her husband to Rome in a disguise which eluded the scrutiny of the inquisitive; and when she did not succeed in the object of her visit, she led him back to his dreary retreat. After nine years the secret abode of Sabinus was invaded, and he was dragged with his devoted wife into the presence of the angry Vespasian. Epponina, presenting her children before the emperor's feet, exclaimed, "I brought forth and nourished these in a tomb, in order to increase the number of your humble suppliants." Vespasian was melted into tears, without being softened into clemency; for, while he and the other spectators wept, he condemned Sabinus and his wife to death, but spared their children. The reason for this inexorable cruelty has not been recorded, and can scarcely be divined; for even if the length of time, in which Sabinus had been immured under ground, was not sufficient to expiate his guilt in the Gallic rebellion, yet what had Epponina done but perform the paramount duties which she owed to her husband with a faithful devotion, which

* Plutarch calls her Empona, and Dion calls her Peponila.

entitled her to the admiration of his bitterest enemies? VESPASIAN,
10.

While **Vespasian** thus swerved from his ordinary course of humanity, a conspiracy was formed against him by **A. Cæcina** and **Marcellus**, whom he reckoned among his most intimate friends, and had distinguished with the highest marks of favour. Their treacherous designs were discovered and punished. **Titus**, who had a proof of **Cæcina's** guilt in his own handwriting, invited him to supper, and caused him to be stabbed as he was departing from the palace, being apprehensive that he might carry his plot into execution that night, through the numerous partisans whom he had secured in the army. The judgment passed upon **Marcellus** was less violent and summary: he was accused before the senate, and, being condemned by their votes, cut his throat with a razor. If he was the same person as **Eprius Marcellus**, whose name often appears in the pages of **Tacitus**, he had disgraced himself by accusing **Thrasea**, and by readily prostituting the eloquence with which he was gifted, to the service of tyranny, and the injury of his fellow-citizens; and as he little deserved the friendship of any virtuous prince, so it is not to be wondered, if he abused that of **Vespasian** in concerting his destruction.

The death which the conspirators would have anticipated was not far distant. A slight illness, with which **Vespasian** was attacked in **Campania**, induced him to return to **Rome**, and thence to go to the **Cutilian** waters in the **Beatine** country, which was the scene of his birth, and his usual retreat in the months of summer. His sickness, which a prudent regimen might probably have arrested, was aggravated by his immoderate use of cold water,

A. D. 79.
Dion. lxxvi.
Suet. viii.
(Tit.) 6.

Dion. lxxvi.
Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 24, &c.

VESPASIAN,

10.

A. D. 79.

and by persisting, regardless of the remonstrances of his physicians, in his ordinary course of living—receiving embassies in bed, and superintending all the affairs of the empire. A conviction of the active duties, which he considered to be incumbent upon him, prompted him to declare, that an emperor ought to die standing*. By his unseasonable exertions the fever and the flux, under which he laboured, became incurable. Being attacked with a violent looseness in his bowels, he made an effort to rise from his bed, and during his struggles expired in the hands of those who came to support him. His death took place on the twenty-fourth of June, after he had lived sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days. He had been sovereign of the Roman world for ten years, all but six days, reckoning from the first of July, on which he had been declared emperor at Alexandria. The appearance of a comet was supposed to prognosticate his death; but he rejected such an application of the portent, sportively observing, that it did not menace him, who was bald, but the Parthian king, who had long hair†. In the same spirit of gaiety he remarked, upon the first attack of his malady, “I suppose I am going to be made a god.” His anticipations were not disappointed; but it was little honour to be placed among the Roman deities, after the silly Claudius had been enrolled in the list of those heterogeneous beings.

Vespasian was, undoubtedly, the best emperor that had governed the Romans since the time of Augustus, whom he resembled in this unusual

* The expression is stronger in Latin, because *Imperator* signifies a military commander.

† Both *stella crinita* in Latin, and *κομήτης* in Greek, carry an allusion to long hair.

circumstance, that his character appeared to be improved, rather than corrupted, by the enjoyment of the imperial dignity. Luxury and licentiousness, which had increased to a formidable extent, were checked more effectually by the example of **Ves-**
pasian, than by the most rigorous laws; for he himself was averse to ostentation in his habits and general course of life, and simplicity and moderation were not deemed unfashionable, as soon as they were sanctioned by the authority of the prince. It was his custom to rise early; and, after reading the letters and memorials which were submitted to him, he suffered his friends to come and pay their respects to him, while he was dressing himself. The discharge of necessary business, a ride, a short sleep, the bath and the banquet, consumed the hours of the day; and as he was never more indulgent than during the season of refreshment, his attendants always availed themselves of those moments to forward their petitions. At table he was free in his conversation, and so fond of jokes, as not to be very scrupulous about the refinement or decency of his language. Such was the mode of life adopted by an absolute ruler of the civilized world. Perhaps all the pomp of imperial power could not have furnished a much happier one; and it may somewhat assuage the thirst of ambition, to reflect, that a similar mode of life is within the reach of many thousands, who are blessed with only a moderate share of the gifts of fortune.

Vespasian, so far from disguising his humble origin, often frankly avowed it. The rich and the powerful will always find flatterers enough to provide them with a splendid genealogy; but when some officious admirers attempted to trace the pedigree of Vespasian to the founders of Reate,

VESPASIAN,
 10.
 A. D. 79.
 Suet. viii.
 (Vesp.) 11, &c.
 Dion. lxvi.
 Tac. Ann. iii.
 55.

VESPASIAN, and a companion of Hercules, he treated their
 10.
 A. D. 79. discovery with derision. Vologeses, the Parthian
 king, in a moment of pride or irritation, sent a
 letter to the Roman emperor with this antithetical
 address: *Arsaces, King of Kings, to Flavius Vespasianus*. To show how little he regarded the
 affront, Vespasian in his reply omitted all his
 imperial titles, and used only the family names,
 with which his princely correspondent had vouch-
 safed to describe him. He felt as little value for the
 pageantry of power, as for its empty titles; for on the
 day of his triumph he was wearied with the tedious
 ceremony, and observed, that he was justly punished
 for coveting a distinction, which was neither due to
 his ancestry, nor congenial to his age.

His forbearing and placable disposition tolerated
 a just freedom of speech, and overlooked the insol-
 ence of pride, and the petulance of anger. When
 an advocate was defending a rich man, and affirmed
 that it was nothing to the emperor, if Hipparchus
 had a large fortune, he was commended by Vespasian.
 At the time when Vespasian had offended Nero,
 and was forbidden to appear at court, he asked one
 of the officers, in great trepidation, whether he
 should go? "Go to perdition," said the petulant
 monitor. Yet this same Phœbus, coming to beseech
 the forgiveness of the emperor Vespasian, was
 merely punished by the even retort: "Go to perdition."
 The magnanimity of Vespasian was shown in
 procuring a splendid marriage for the daughter
 of his rival Vitellius, and in enriching her with
 a dowry. Some of his friends advised him to
 beware of Metius Pomposianus, whose nativity
 was supposed to indicate that he would be
 emperor; but instead of suspecting or injuring
 the man upon so unreasonable a pretext, he made him

consul, affirming that he would one day show his gratitude for the favour. Perhaps Vespasian had more confidence in his own horoscope than in that of Metius ; for he is said to have cherished a firm persuasion, that his sons would succeed him in the imperial power. His patience was often put to a severe trial by the arrogance of Mucianus, who, having been greatly instrumental in raising him to the purple, had not the delicacy to disguise the important favour which he had bestowed. An ungrateful or tyrannical prince would easily have devised some method of ridding himself from the reproachful presence of so troublesome a benefactor. But Vespasian was willing to acknowledge and requite his services to their fullest extent ; and he never reproved his unbecoming insolence except in secret, or before a mutual friend, declaring at the end of his complaints, "I, however, am a man."* Notwithstanding the general strictness of Vespasian's government, he seems to have allowed Mucianus and Marcellus to exercise an undue authority ; for Tacitus describes their conduct as scarcely less oppressive and insolent, than that of the freedmen of Otho and Vitellius. Mucianus is supposed to have died before the year seventy-six, having blended in his character such a combination of vices and virtues, as made him both hated and feared by his fellow-citizens.

VESPASIAN,
10.
A. D. 79.

Tac. Hist. ii.
95.

Suetonius, in extolling the clemency of Vespasian, asserts, that he never put any innocent man to death with his full consent and knowledge, and that he used to shed tears at the necessary punishment of manifest offenders. The death of Helvidius, as we have related, was repugnant to his wishes ;

Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 15.

* *Ego tamen vir sum.* *Vir* seems to convey a threat ; *homo* would have implied a different sentiment.

VESPASIAN,
 10.
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Sabinus, who had been engaged in open rebellion, had forfeited his life by the sentence of the law ; but the execution of Epponina is an act of cruelty on the part of Vespasian, which it would be difficult to palliate, even though it appears that he was exasperated by the reproaches which she cast upon him after her condemnation. Notwithstanding the severity of this single act, it is certain that his conduct in general was distinguished by benevolence and mercy.

All classes of citizens were in turn assisted by his bounty. Persons of consular rank, who were in indigent circumstances, were enabled by him to maintain the dignity of their station, and at the same time he was anxious to support and foster the lowest order of the people. Many cities throughout the empire, which had been injured by earthquakes and conflagrations, were rebuilt by him with increased splendour. Notwithstanding the contest in which he was involved by the indiscreet hostility of the philosophers, he was a patron of men of learning, and of all who cultivated the arts. He was the first emperor who allowed from his own treasury an annual stipend to the Latin and Greek rhetoricians. Poets and painters, architects and mechanics, actors and musicians, were all encouraged by his rewards. He himself appears not to have been deficient in taste and learning ; for he could quote Greek verses, often making a ludicrous application of their meaning, and the sallies of his genius generally assumed a lively character, and were pointed by a witticism or a jest.

Although he knew how to expend his money with princely liberality, yet he was neither scrupulous nor just in his modes of procuring it. He not only renewed the taxes which had been abandoned by

Galba, but imposed new ones of an oppressive nature, and greatly augmented the tribute which was exacted from the provinces. His covetousness even urged him to purchase commodities with a view of making a profit by retailing them, a mode of obtaining gain that the Romans considered disreputable even in a person of private condition. He sold honours and offices of state to those who were rich enough to buy them : his favourite concubine, Cænis, amassed immense wealth by making every thing venal, and in this dishonourable traffic she is supposed to have been secretly abetted by the emperor. It was believed, that he advanced the most rapacious of his procurators to higher posts, in order that he might extort the greater sums from them ; for he used them (it was said) like sponges, wetting them when dry, and squeezing them when wet. Persons accused of offences were often allowed, whether innocent or guilty, to buy an exemption from punishment ; but he so far moderated his covetousness as never to put any citizen to death from the mere motive of gaining his property. Those who wished to palliate the emperor's inordinate love of money alleged, that it was not so much the vice of his natural disposition, as political necessity ; that having found the finances of the empire exhausted, he was obliged to recruit them by quick and violent means ; and that he disbursed with judgment and liberality the sums which were iniquitously procured. Mucianus had taught him that money formed the sinews of war ; and he seems to have convinced himself that it was equally advantageous in peace, and, according to the sentiment which prevailed in the age of Horace*, that

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Tac. Hist. li.
84.

* O clives, cives, quærenda pecunia primum est,
Virtus post nummos : hæc Janus summus ab imo
Prodocat. Epist. l. 1. 53.

VESPASIAN, it was the very first object of pursuit. Although
 10.
 A. D. 79. he was never to be diverted from a project of gain,
 yet he endeavoured to elude the infamy attached to covetousness by good-humoured repartees. When one of his favourites requested an office for a person, whom he falsely represented as his brother, Vespasian, being aware of the fraud, sent for the applicant and gave him the place for the sum which he had stipulated with his friend; and as soon as he saw his favourite, he calmly remarked to him: "You must seek another brother, for the person you suppose to be so related to you, is my brother, not yours." The ambassadors of a certain city came to inform the emperor, that they had agreed to erect a statue to him at a very considerable expense; upon which he extended his open hand, and said to them: "Here is the base for your statue quite ready, give me the money." Although modern statesmen have surpassed the ancients in financial ingenuity, yet it will be long ere they equal the effrontery of Vespasian, who laid a tax upon urine. When Titus expressed his dissatisfaction at so extraordinary an act, his father took a piece of money just received from the new duty, and, holding it to his nose, asked him if it smelt more offensively than other coin, on account of the source from which it came?* Such conduct fixed the indelible stain of avarice upon the character of Vespasian, and as he had laughed at the vice during his life, so others took the same liberty

* To this incident the words of Juvenal seem to allude: *lucri bonus est odor ex re Quâlibet.* (Sat. xiv. 204.) In reading of the thirst for gold, which prevailed in ancient Rome, how aptly the description applies to our own age. *Inter nos sanctissima Divitiarum Majestas.*—Sat. i. 112.

Illa tuo sententia semper in ore

Versetur, Dis atque ipso Jove digna, poeta:

Unde habeas, quærit nemo, sed oportet habere.—Sat. xiv. 205.

after his decease. In the entertainments which were given at his funeral, Favo, the mimic, imitating the emperor's behaviour and mode of speaking, asked the procurators what would be the expense of his obsequies; and when they stated a large sum, he replied: "Give me but a tenth part of that, and you may throw my body into the Tiber."

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Vespasian was of a round figure and strongly made; and his countenance carried the expression of a person straining himself. The excellent health which he enjoyed was promoted by no other means than by friction, and by fasting one day in each month.

The works of most of the authors, who flourished in the reign of Vespasian, have not descended to modern times. The *Dialogue concerning Orators*, which is usually appended to the works of Tacitus, but which some have ascribed to the pen of Quintilian*, was written about the year 75; at least, the scene of the Dialogue is fixed in that year. Pliny the elder dedicated his celebrated work upon Natural History to Titus in the year 77.

Dial. De Orat.
17.

Plin. Præf.

Vespasian planted several colonies, especially towards the end of his reign, and some of them were distinguished by the appellation of *Flavian*, in honour of his family.

Eus. Chr.

* Lipsius pronounces it uncertain, who was the author of this famous treatise.

THE EMPEROR TITUS.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and education of Titus.—His accomplishments.—His conduct before Vespasian was made emperor.—His authority under his father, and his unpopularity.—He reforms his conduct, renounces his unworthy associates, and dismisses Berenice.—His justice and benevolence.—His clemency and forbearance to all, and especially to his brother Domitian.—The first eruption of Mount Vesuvius takes place.—Pliny the elder suffocated.—His nephew exposed to great peril.—The benevolence of Titus in relieving the sufferers in Campania.—A great fire destroys many edifices at Rome, and is succeeded by a pestilence.—The dedication of the Colosseum.—Titus attacked with fever, and dies.—Conjectures as to the cause of his death, and as to the sentiments imputed to him in his last moments.—Remarks upon his conduct, and upon the probability of his persevering in the same course of mercy, if he had lived longer.

TITUS, the eldest son of Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla, quietly succeeded to the imperial dignity, which his father had not been able to acquire without the sanguinary contests of civil war. He was born on the thirtieth day of December, in the year 40, according to the most probable date that can

TITUS,
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A. D. 79.
Suet. viii.
(Tit.) 1,
&c.
Dion. lxxvi.

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be inferred from the conflicting testimony of historians ; but whatever was the precise year of his birth, he inherited the sovereignty at an age when he was in full vigour, both to discharge its duties and to enjoy its pomp and pleasures. His birth took place in a mean house near the Septizonium, and the small and dark chamber, which was the scene of the event, was exhibited as an object of curiosity in the time of Suetonius. He was educated amid the corrupting examples of the court of Claudius, being selected as the companion of the unfortunate Britannicus, with whom he pursued a course of juvenile study under the tuition of the same masters. It is related, that a person who pretended to foretell fortunes by the inspection of the human countenance* declared, after scrutinizing the looks of Britannicus and Titus, that the former would never be emperor, but that the latter would. The same plot, however, nearly destroyed both ; for it was believed that Titus partook of the fatal cup which poisoned his friend, and that he was afflicted with a long illness in consequence of the noxious draught. Having survived the treacherous banquet, he honoured the memory of his early associate, by erecting to him a golden statue in the palace, and by consecrating to him another of ivory, which was carried in the procession of the Circensian games.

All the accomplishments both of body and mind, which distinguished Titus in his boyhood, were gradually brought to greater perfection in his maturer age. His stature was not great, and a slight projection of the abdomen impaired the symmetry of his form ; yet he was remarkable for his strength, and upon the whole possessed such

* Metoposcopus.

an exterior, that he could either captivate spectators by his grace, or overawe them by his dignity. He was eminently skilled in the use of arms, and in the management of the horse; he could write short-hand with great rapidity, and had such a facility in imitating any writing which he saw, that he often observed in sport, that he might have made an excellent forger. A tenacious memory, and a natural quickness in acquiring knowledge, rendered him a proficient in the Latin and Greek languages, in both of which he was able to compose orations and poems, and to display his skill even in extemporaneous effusions. He was not unacquainted with music, but could sing and play with a degree of taste, which the stern Romans of the republican days would have been ashamed to possess.

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Titus served as military tribune in Germany and Britain, and in both these provinces gained renown by practising the active virtues, and the decorous restraint of a good soldier. When he returned from his campaigns he betook himself, though not with much assiduity, to the peaceful labours of the forum. He married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, a Roman knight, who had formerly been præfect of the prætorian cohorts. Upon her decease, Marcia Furnilla, a woman of noble birth, became his wife, but, after bearing him a daughter, was divorced from him, probably for one of those trivial reasons which the Romans considered sufficient for such a separation. The appointment of his father to conduct the war in Judæa, gave him a fresh opportunity of gratifying his martial propensities; and he became of the most essential service in winning the regard and confidence of Mucianus, and in acting

Tac. Hist. ii. 5.
v. 1.

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the part of a mediator between him and Vespasian. When his father's necessary departure from Judæa left him the supreme command of the Roman forces, he gained the love of his own troops by his vigour and alacrity in battle, by his graceful demeanour, and the courteous affability which he practised towards all, without any infringement of his authority as a general; and he was certainly entitled to the praise of his Jewish adversaries, for the clemency and patient forbearance with which he endeavoured to divert them from their blind resistance. At the termination of the war his legions, mingling entreaties with threats, demanded, that he should either remain with them, or that they should all accompany him; and this violent conduct gave rise to a suspicion that he wished to rebel against his father, and assume the government of the East. At Alexandria he wore a diadem at one of the religious ceremonies of the god Apis; and this circumstance, though justified by ancient usage, was deemed to be an additional proof of his sinister intentions. To confute rumours, which were so injurious to his character both as a subject and a son, he proceeded with all possible celerity to Rome, and, appearing unexpectedly before Vespasian, exclaimed, "I have come, my father, I have come."

It is not probable that Vespasian believed the vague insinuations which had been directed against his son; for on his arrival at Rome he made him his associate in all the dignities and functions of the imperial power. He allowed him to be invested with the tribunician authority, and made him his colleague in the censorship, and in seven consulships. Acting almost as if he was guardian of the empire, Titus dictated letters and published edicts in

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his father's name, and read his speeches in the senate instead of the quæstor. He undertook the office of prætorian præfect, which had hitherto been held by persons only of equestrian rank, and discharged it with such rigour, as evinced but little regard for the rights of the citizens. The manner in which he killed the conspirator Cæcina, although violent and arbitrary, might be extenuated by the plea of imminent danger; but he outrageously trampled upon all the rules of justice, by instigating persons to demand in the theatres, and in the camp, the punishment of any one whom he suspected, and then instantly destroying the alleged offender. These acts of oppression were not the only parts of his conduct which exposed him to popular censure. His riotous feasts, which were prolonged until midnight, the base and profligate companions with whom he was surrounded, and, above all, his ardent attachment to the Jewish queen Berenice, made the Romans suspect that their prince had yielded too much to the passions of youth, and enslaved himself to luxury and licentiousness. Nor was he considered free from rapacious avarice, as it was known that in some trials he had made a traffic of his services, and had accepted bribes. Even the atrocious charge of poisoning his father was advanced against him; but, although it was sanctioned by the authority of the Emperor Adrian, it is rejected by Dion as a groundless calumny. From these unfavourable circumstances, Titus succeeded to the sovereign power amidst the dislike and suspicion of the Romans; and those who entertained the worst opinion of him openly predicted, that they were going to be governed by a second Nero.

But the magnanimity and other noble qualities

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of Titus soon dispelled the cloud which had been cast over his character by the frailties and vices of his youth. As soon as he became emperor, his mind, rising with the dignity of his station, made a powerful effort to surmount its favourite passions and predilections, and to cultivate the practice of the most exalted virtues; and so great was his success, that he, who had justly incurred no inconsiderable degree of public odium, was in a short time beloved by all ranks of men, and hailed with the extraordinary title of *The delight of the human race**. As the first step towards reformation, he dismissed his unworthy associates; and his future friends were selected with so much discrimination, that succeeding princes, considering their services beneficial to the state, reposed in them the same confidence which they had enjoyed from Titus. Resisting the unjust claims of private partiality, he reminded one of his former friends, that his situation was now altered, and that the favours which his intercession had formerly procured for him from others, he himself could not grant consistently with his character as a judge and a prince. But this sentiment, though worthy of admiration, impugned the equity of his former conduct; for he ought to have been as jealous of Vespasian's reputation as his own, and have forbore to ask what he knew it was improper to concede. As a further instance of the mastery which he had gained over his affections, he resolved to dismiss his favourite Berenice. She was the daughter of Agrippa the elder, the last king of Judæa, and, after marrying Marcus, the son of Alexander Lysimachus, was united to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis. When his death left her

Jos. Ant. 19,
20.
Tac. Hist. ii.
81.

* Amor ac deliciæ generis humani.—Suet.

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in a state of widowhood, she was assailed with offensive reports, which accused her of an incestuous familiarity with her brother Agrippa, the king of Iturea; and in order to silence these rumours, she made advances to Polemon, king of Cilicia, who was induced by her riches to submit to the rite of circumcision, and to take her as his wife. But she soon forsook this complaisant husband; and when Vespasian and Titus appeared in Judæa at the head of their legions, she captivated the covetous father by the magnificence of her presents, and the amorous son by the fascination of those charms, which had long reached their maturity. After the capture of Jerusalem, Agrippa and his sister visited Rome. The former was invested with the prætorian honours; while Berenice herself lived in the palace, behaved in every respect as the wife of Titus, and, according to the prevailing rumours, had a promise of soon being raised to that dignity. The aversion which the Romans always entertained at seeing their countrymen submit to the yoke of foreign wedlock, made them utter complaints at the favours lavished upon the Jewish Berenice; and Titus, convinced, perhaps, that their dissatisfaction was not ungrounded, banished her from his society. According to Dion, he dismissed her during the life of his father; and although she returned to Rome, when Titus was emperor, she was unable to regain her ascendancy over him. Suetonius places her dismissal among the first acts of his sovereign power, and describes it as repugnant to the wishes of both parties. Youth could have had no share in the conquest which she had gained over the affections of Titus; for she must have been about forty years old, when their acquaintance commenced, and at

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their separation more than half a century had committed its depredations upon her charms.

Titus, having regulated the sentiments of friendship, and discarded those of love, was at full liberty to listen to the demands of public justice, beneficence, and mercy. He not only scrupulously abstained from touching the property of any of the citizens, but did not accept of the contributions which were sanctioned by prescription. This forbearance, however, did not straiten his liberality, as he raised buildings for the entertainment of the people, and exhibited spectacles and combats with great magnificence. In order to exterminate the race of informers, and those who abetted them, he commanded, that after being beaten in the forum, and dragged through the amphitheatre, they should be sold as slaves, or banished into the most desert islands. He would not allow any actions to be instituted for treason* and libel, declaring, that no one could justly revile his conduct, and that he despised the false accusations of the calumnious; and as to the attacks upon deceased emperors, if they were really the heroes and demigods which they were represented to be, they could not want the power to punish their enemies. Former princes, following the example of Tiberius, had not considered the grants of their predecessors as valid, unless they themselves gave to each a specific ratification; but Titus, with that benevolence which was one of his natural qualities, confirmed them all by one edict, and spared the suspense of many anxious petitioners. His complaisance to the people was so great, that he sometimes admitted them to the baths, while he himself was bathing there; when he was going to give an exhibition of

* Τῆς ἀσεβείας.

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gladiators, he declared, that it should be regulated not by his wishes, but by those of the spectators; and he not only yielded to the requests of the general body of citizens, but encouraged them to make known their desires. If an individual solicited him for a favour, he always gave him hopes of succeeding in his petition; and when his friends remonstrated with him, for appearing to promise more than he could perform, he observed, that no one ought to depart in sadness from an interview with his prince. Remembering once at supper, that he had not conferred a benefit upon any one during the whole day, he uttered that admirable sentence, which may serve as a lesson or a reproach to all who have the power of doing good, "My friends, I have lost a day."

Titus entered upon his sovereignty with an avowed resolution to keep his hands pure from blood. He protested, that he would rather perish, than put any one to death; and neither the licence of absolute power, nor the anger of just revenge, could impel him to falsify his word. When two persons of patrician rank were convicted of an attempt to seize the imperial power, he spared their lives, and exhorted them to desist from such desperate undertakings, alleging it as his opinion, (which the elevation of himself and his father seemed to justify) that the sovereignty was allotted to men by fate; at the same time he promised to comply with any request they had to make to him. As the mother of one of them was residing at a considerable distance, he immediately sent a courier to calm her anxiety, and assure her of the safety of her son. He invited the two conspirators to a friendly entertainment, and on the following day, when there was an exhibition of gladiators, he put

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into their hands the weapons of the combatants, which it was customary to present to the emperor; and it is probable, that his generosity, as much as the publicity of the scene, disarmed them of their hostile intentions.

Suet. viii.
(Tit.) 9.
(Dom.) 2.

The animosity of his brother Domitian was of a nature not to be softened by the greatest magnanimity and forbearance. Jealous of the superiority of Titus, both in virtue and in power, Domitian had hesitated, at his father's death, whether he should not endeavour to gain the support of the soldiers by offering them a double donative; and when he despaired of success, he constantly affirmed, that a share of the empire had been bequeathed to him, but that his father's will had been fraudulently altered. In pursuance of his pretended claims, he was always attempting to undermine the authority of Titus, and to corrupt the fidelity of the troops. Although Titus was aware of his intrigues, he abstained from even the gentlest means of coercion; he adhered to the declaration, which he had made on his accession to power, that he considered him as his associate and successor in the empire; and sometimes he conjured him, even with tears, to return the affection which he entertained towards him.

Senec. Nat.
Quest. vi. 1.
Dion. lxxvi.

While the inhabitants of Rome were congratulating themselves upon the virtues of Titus, one of the fairest parts of Italy was desolated by a new and appalling calamity. The province of Campania had never been considered secure from earthquakes; and in the year 63, a visitation of that nature had destroyed parts of Pompeii and Herculaneum, had given a shock to other cities, and so terrified their inhabitants, that some of them never recovered from the alarm, but continued in a

state of mental imbecility. In the autumn of the year 79, Vesuvius exhibited the first of its fiery eruptions, of which any record is preserved in history. The whole summit of the mountain was formerly of the same height, until the flames issuing from the centre, made a cavity in that part, around which the circumjacent tops, adorned with many vines and trees, arose in the form of an amphitheatre. If we may believe the fiction, which was not too extravagant to impose upon the credulity of Dion, many men of gigantic stature were seen before the eruption, sometimes in the mountain, and sometimes in the surrounding country and cities, traversing the earth, and circling in the air, by day and by night*. After this phenomenon, there was a parching drought, and considerable tremors of the earth, while the roaring of the sea, a hollow noise in the air, and subterranean sounds resembling thunder, announced the catastrophe which was approaching. On a sudden, a tremendous tumult was heard, as if the mountains had been dashed against each other: immense stones were thrown up from the centre of Vesuvius, and afterwards volumes of flame, accompanied with a dense smoke, which darkened all the atmosphere, and eclipsed the light of the sun. The trembling spectators, observing the day to be changed

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* It appears from Pindar (Pyth. i. 52), from Virgil, and other poets, that the ancients imagined the giants to be confined in the burning caverns of Mount Etna. After the eruption of Vesuvius, it was natural to apply the same fictions to that mountain; and thus might have originated the story of the gigantic phantasms, which Dion has related.

*Fama est Enceladi semiustum fulmine corpus
Urgeri mole hæc, ingentemque insuper Ætnam
Impositam ruptis flammam expirare caminis;
Et fessum quoties mutat latus, intremere omnem
Murinure Trinacriam, et cælum subtexere fumo.—Æn. iii. 578.*

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into night, began to fear that the earth was on the point of being reduced to its primitive chaos, or being consumed by fire: some believed that there was a war of the giants, imagining that they saw their figures in the flames, and heard the clang of their trumpets. Persuaded by their fears, that every spot was safer than the one in which they happened to be placed, they rushed, in their trepidation, from the houses into the streets, and from the streets into the houses, from land to sea, and from sea to land. In the mean time, an indescribable quantity of ashes filled the air, and covered both the sea and the land; and so noxious and overwhelming was their force, that they not only suffocated men and beasts, birds and fishes, but buried entire cities under that fatal load, which was doomed to cover them for many centuries, until the curiosity and labour of the moderns attempted to remove it. Herculaneum and Pompeii suffered this awful fate; and the inhabitants were assembled in the theatre, when the volcanic tempest descended upon them*. The ashes were ejected in such a quantity and with such violence, that they were carried into Syria, Egypt, and Africa. The citizens of Rome, seeing the atmosphere filled with them, and the sun darkened, were suspended for several days between wonder and terror, being ignorant of the real nature of the catastrophe, and imagining that some great physical revolution had commenced in the earth and the heavens.

Plin. Epist. vi.
16.

Among those who perished by the first eruption of Vesuvius, was the celebrated naturalist,

* "The wording leaves it doubtful, which theatre is meant. The theatres of both cities have been explored, and no remains found. The eruption may have come on while the people were assembled, but they were not destroyed in the theatres." Note to *Pompeii*, Chap. 1. It is most probable they were assembled in the amphitheatre.

Pliny the elder. He was residing at Misenum, and had the command of the Roman fleet stationed there, when he was informed that a cloud of extraordinary shape and magnitude was visible in the horizon. Having taken a distant view of the phenomenon (which rose into the air in the form of a pine tree, being sometimes bright and sometimes dusky in its appearance) he resolved to gratify his curiosity by a nearer inspection. Embarking on board a vessel, he directed his course across the gulf of Baiæ, and the further he proceeded, the more he was assailed by the shower of hot ashes and burnt stones. His own first thoughts, and the advice of his pilot, suggested a retreat; but, remarking that Fortune succoured the brave, he disregarded the threatening danger, and landed at Stabiae. From this and the adjoining places, most of the inhabitants had either fled, or were preparing for their flight; but Pliny's thirst of physical knowledge made him regardless of the peril, and confined him to the spot. Anxious to banish the fears of his companions, he bathed and supped as usual, and then composed himself to sleep. In the mean time, the flames, whose awful brilliancy was increased by the darkness of night, had issued to a great elevation from Vesuvius, and were spreading their destructive fury. The ashes and stones ejected from the mountain had accumulated to such an extent, that Pliny would have been in danger of being enclosed and buried in his chamber, had he continued his slumbers much longer. Being awakened by his companions, he consulted with them upon their perilous situation, and, finding that it was too dangerous to remain in-doors, on account of the quaking of the earth, they covered their heads to protect themselves from the falling stones, and

TITUS,
1.
A. D. 79.

TITUS,
1.
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descended to the sea-shore. Although day had broken, they were enveloped in the thickest darkness, which was relieved only by the terrible flames of Vesuvius, and the pale glare of the torches and lights which they carried. An adverse wind prevented them from embarking on the dreary sea; and Pliny, reclining on the shore, seemed to feel the dangerous atmosphere he was breathing, and asked several times for water to drink. A sulphurous smell announced the approach of the volcanic flames; and while his more active companions betook themselves to flight, Pliny endeavoured to raise himself, but, falling immediately, expired in the arms of two of his slaves. He was suffocated by the noxious vapour, being less able to resist it than others, on account of the natural weakness of his lungs. His body was found three days afterwards, free from all external injury, and presenting the tranquil appearance of a person who had fallen asleep. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, being one of the most indefatigable labourers, that ever toiled in the paths of literature. Although his love of study never allured him from business, yet, by abridging his sleep, carefully economizing his time, and making notes and extracts from all that he read, he had written, as well as perused, an extraordinary number of volumes. All his works have perished, excepting his Natural History, which his nephew commends as copious, learned, and variegated as the face of Nature herself. He had written twenty books upon the wars, which the Romans had waged in Germany; and he was induced to undertake this work on account of a dream, with which he was visited. Drusus Nero, who had distinguished himself for his victories in that wild country, is said to have appeared to him in his sleep, con-

juring him to respect his memory, and not to allow his exploits to be buried in oblivion.

The younger Pliny, who, at the request of Tacitus, recorded the circumstances respecting his uncle's death, had chosen to remain at Misenum at the commencement of the awful eruption, and, although he was a witness of the same phenomena as his relative, escaped a similar fate. The violent agitation of the earth during the night awakened him and his mother, and constrained them to forego their slumbers. Pliny, who was then in his eighteenth year, endeavoured to occupy his thoughts by the perusal of the pages of Livy; but, as the danger every moment became more alarming, he was urged by one of his uncle's friends to depart from the town. The carriages, which they had ordered for their use, were driven different ways by the motion of the earth, and could not be kept steady even with the support of stones. The sea had ebbed to an unusual distance from the shore, leaving many inhabitants of the deep on the dry sands. The dark and horrible cloud arising from Vesuvius was intersected with long and forked streams of fire; and, as the ashes soon afterwards began to descend, Pliny and his mother were obliged to accelerate their flight. They were accompanied on the road by a multitude of wretched fugitives, who filled the air with enquiries for their relatives, or lamentations at their own appalling condition, some raising their hands in supplication to the gods, others imagining that the gods themselves had ceased to exist, and that an everlasting darkness was going to envelope the earth. Pliny relates, that as the storm of ashes began to thicken, he should have been overwhelmed with them, if he had not risen occasionally and

TITUS,
1.
A. D. 79.

TITUS,
1.
A. D. 79.

shaken them from his body. When the feeble light of the lurid sun enabled him to discern objects, he found the whole prospect changed, every thing being buried by the deep ashes as completely as by a fall of snow. He returned to Misenum before the tremors of the earth had subsided, and found many persons who had been driven mad by the awful convulsion of nature, mocking their own misfortune and that of others by the vain predictions which they uttered. He and his mother did not quit the dangerous scene, until they were apprized of the fate of the elder Pliny.

TITUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 80.
Suet. viii.
(Tit.) 8.
Dion. lxxvi.

The benevolence of Titus was exerted in relieving the distresses which had been occasioned by this dreadful eruption. He sent two commissioners of consular rank into Campania, in order to superintend the work of reparation; and, in addition to other gifts, he ordered that the property of those persons, who had been destroyed by the volcano, without leaving any heirs, should be appropriated to the succour of the injured cities. It does not appear probable that any careful search was made for the cities which had been buried under the ashes; for the wealth and power of the Romans, animated by the benevolent zeal of Titus, might surely have freed them from the superincumbent mass. Perhaps too much attention was engrossed by the living, to allow any labour to be bestowed upon schemes that would appear almost hopeless to even the most sanguine projector.

While Titus was absent in Campania, a violent conflagration happened at Rome. The fire, raging for three days and three nights, destroyed the temples of Serapis, of Isis, of Neptune, and Jupiter Capitolinus, together with the Pantheon, the theatre of Pompey, and various other buildings.

Titus declared, with great magnanimity, that the public should not feel the loss, but that he himself would sustain the whole burden; and, in conformity with this resolution, he rejected the proffered gifts of private individuals, kings, and cities, and surrendered the ornaments of his own palaces for the restoration of the temples and other edifices. After the conflagration Rome was desolated by a great pestilence, which, in the opinion of Dion, arose from the ashes which had been dispersed by the eruption of Vesuvius. Titus endeavoured to alleviate the calamity by all the succours of medicinal art, and by all kinds of propitiatory sacrifices to the gods; and in this, as well as in the preceding misfortunes, he displayed not only the solicitude of a prince, but the affection of a parent, towards his people.

TITUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 80.

The baths of Titus and the stupendous Colosseum were finished this year. It had been the intention of Augustus to build an amphitheatre in the middle of the city; but the work was not begun until the last years of Vespasian, and the glory of its completion was reserved for his son. "Posterity admires," (says an eloquent historian*) "and will long admire, the awful remains of the amphitheatre of Titus, which so well deserved the epithet of colossal. It was a building of an elliptic figure, five hundred and sixty-four feet in length, and four hundred and sixty-seven in breadth, founded on fourscore arches, and rising, with four successive orders of architecture, to the height of one hundred and forty feet. The outside of the edifice was incrustured with marble, and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave, which formed the inside, were filled and

Suet. viii.
(Vesp.) 9.
(Tit.) 7.
Dion. lxxvi.

* Gibbon.—Chap. xii. of the *Decline and Fall*.

TITUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 80.

surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of marble, likewise covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand spectators. Sixty-four *vomitories* (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases, were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which in any respect could be subservient to the convenience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice, the *arena*, or stage, was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one moment it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain, might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep. In the decoration of the scenes, the Roman emperors displayed their wealth and liberality; and we read on various occasions, that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber."

At the dedication, or first opening, of this immense edifice, Titus exhibited spectacles, which continued for a hundred days, and which, like most

of the entertainments of the Romans, were of a sanguinary or martial character. Birds and beasts, among which cranes and elephants are particularly mentioned, fought together for the amusement of the spectators. Five thousand wild beasts were produced in one day; and during the continuance of the games nine thousand different animals were slain, even women taking a part in the wanton slaughter. The combats of gladiators, horse and chariot racing, and the representation of land and naval engagements, diversified the scene of tumultuous pleasure. The amphitheatre being suddenly filled with water, hostile vessels were arrayed against each other, and a mimic battle was fought between the Corinthians and Corcyreans. In another part of the city another mimic conflict took place, in which the Athenians were represented as invading an island, capturing a fort, and routing the vanquished Sicilians. While shows were provided for all, more substantial benefits were gained by the most fortunate of the citizens; for Titus threw among the crowd small wooden balls, which, according to what was inscribed upon them, entitled the possessors to some eatable, or article of dress, to a silver or gold utensil, to horses, cattle, or slaves.

The pleasures or the benefits, which the Romans enjoyed under Titus, were not of long duration. After the exhibition of some spectacles he wept abundantly in the sight of all the people, being overpowered either by the languor of approaching sickness, or by that melancholy which often oppresses the heart in the midst of the highest enjoyments. As he departed from Rome, his sadness was increased by some omens of an unfavourable nature; and he was attacked with fever at the commencement of his journey into the

TITUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 80.

TITUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 81.
Suet. viii.
(Tit.) 10, 11.
Dion. lxxvi.

TITUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 81.

Sabine territory. Being carried in a litter, he reached the villa where his father died, and in the same house he himself expired, on the thirteenth day of September. Whether the fever which destroyed him was accidental or not, is a point on which conjectures are at variance. In the opinion of some persons it arose from the unseasonable use of the bath; but many ascribed it to poison, administered by Domitian, who was continually meditating plots against the authority of his brother. It was related, that while Titus was alive, and even in such a condition that he might speedily have recovered, Domitian placed him in a vessel full of snow, in order to accelerate his death.

When Titus was aware of his impending dissolution, he is said to have raised his eyes to heaven, and to have complained of his premature and undeserved fate, declaring, that there was only one action in his life, of which he had reason to repent. Although ancient ethics did not inculcate any great degree of humility, yet such sentiments were unworthy of Titus, or of any wise heathen. It became a topic of conjecture with the Romans, what was the single action on which Titus reflected with sorrow. Some surmised that it was an incestuous intercourse of which he had been guilty with Domitia, his brother's wife; but Domitia denied the alleged crime with an oath, and Suetonius says, that she would have gloried in it, if she had really committed it, as she gloried in all her wickedness. Others believed, that Titus repented of having spared his brother, after he had been convinced of his treasonable intentions, and of having surrendered himself and the Roman empire, as passive victims, to his implacable malice.

Titus would certainly have acted with greater policy, if he had banished Domitian from his court and from Rome; but, however his forbearance may detract from his caution and foresight, it enhances in a much greater degree the fraternal tenderness and confiding generosity of his nature.

TITUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 81.

Titus was about forty-one years old, when he died. He had ruled the empire only two years, two months, and twenty days; and his death was lamented as a universal affliction. Private individuals mourned, as if they had been deprived of one of their relatives; and the senate, assembling with spontaneous zeal, passed upon him higher panegyrics, than they had ever been prompted to bestow, while he was alive. When men had time to weigh more deliberately his situation and conduct, it was alleged by that class of reasoners, who delight in hypothetical theories, that he was fortunate in having died at so early a period of his reign. They presumed, that if he had lived longer, he could not have maintained that high reputation for virtue and clemency with which he had hitherto ruled; and in this respect they considered him to be unlike Augustus, who, if he had died in youth, would have been remembered only for his proscriptions and cruelty. Titus certainly practised mercy to a generous excess, in not allowing himself to put any of the citizens to death; and if he had lived much longer, necessity, if not his own discernment, would have forced him to acknowledge, that justice is the first of all social virtues, and that it is not required of the most humane prince to banish her from his counsels, but only to temper her sanctions with clemency and moderation. If his life had been extended, he might probably have been compelled to forego the exercise of

TITUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 81.



extravagant virtue, and to disregard the applause of an indiscriminating multitude; but neither his age, nor his character, was so weak, as to oblige us to admit, that he would suddenly have yielded to the seductions of vice, and have been unable to pursue that even tenor of conduct, which inclines to neither side of excess, and which, if it sometimes forfeits the applause of contemporary judges, is always rewarded with the praise of future generations.

The Romans under Agricola were extending their conquests in Britain; but an account of that general's exploits will be more conveniently deferred until the reign of Domitian.

THE EMPEROR DOMITIAN.

CHAPTER I.

Domitian hastens to Rome.—His youth, disposition, and vices.—Titus deified.—Liberality and moderation of Domitian.—His numerous consulships.—Execution of Sabinus, and death of Julia, the daughter of Titus.—Domitian punishes three Vestal virgins.—Triumphs over the Catti.—Exploits of Agricola in Britain.—Agricola defeats the Ardovices, and takes the isle of Mona.—His justice and moderation.—Induces the Britons to submit.—Civilizes them.—Devastates the country as far as the Tay.—Raises forts between the Clyde and the Forth.—Meditates invading Ireland.—Advances beyond the Forth.—Attacked by the Caledonians, whom he defeats.—A mutinous cohort of Usipians accidentally circumnavigates Britain.—Agricola gains a decisive victory on the Grampian hills.—Recalled by Domitian.—Retires into private life.—Remarks upon the description of Britain given by Tacitus.

BEFORE Titus had expired, his brother Domitian ordered him to be left as dead, and with guilty precipitation proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of securing the sovereign power. Knowing the importance of gaining the suffrages of the soldiers, he entered the prætorian camp, and, having distributed to the guards the same gratuity as his

DOMITIAN,

1.
A. D. 81.

Suet. xii. 1,
&c.
Dion. lxxvi.
lxxvii.

DOMITIAN, ^{1.}
A. D. 81. } predecessors had given, was acknowledged by them as their future emperor. There was no one who presumed to dispute his claim; for as Titus had not left any children, excepting a daughter, his brother was the legal successor to the imperial dignity.

Domitian had nearly completed the thirtieth year of his age, having been born at Rome on the twenty-fourth of October, in the year 51, when his father was consul elect. The house, in which he first saw the light, was afterwards converted by him into a temple of the Flavian family. His early days had been spent in such poverty, that, in an age of general luxury, he could not boast of one silver utensil. Being at Rome during the Vitellian war, he took refuge in the Capitol with his uncle Sabinus, and, at the storming and conflagration of the sacred edifice, effected his escape in the disguise of one of the worshippers of Isis. The fortune of civil war soon summoned him from his retreat, and invested him with the title of *Cæsar*, or son of the reigning emperor. In the absence of Vespasian and Titus he had unlimited power of indulging his youthful propensities. In one day he distributed to his friends more than twenty offices; and Vespasian was so much struck with his temerity and presumption, that he said, he wondered that he had not sent him also a successor. He was guilty of amours with wives of many of the citizens, and being greatly captivated with Domitia Longina, the wife of *Ælius Lamia*, he took her from her husband, and married her. She was the daughter of the illustrious general Domitius Corbulo. Even Titus had thought it no crime to offer his only daughter, Julia Sabina, as a suitable bride to his brother, who, however, refused her on ac-

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 22.

count of his attachment to Domitia. Not long afterwards, when his niece was bestowed upon another, Domitian did not scruple to seduce her affections, even during the life of her father.

DOMITIAN,
1.
A. D. 81.
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Impelled by a jealous hope of rivalling the military exploits of his brother, Domitian had wished to take the command of the Roman forces in the Gallic rebellion, which happened at the commencement of his father's reign; but in this project he was eluded by the artifices of Mucianus, and did not proceed further than Lyons*. When Vespasian arrived at Rome, he restrained his vicious caprices by compelling him to reside with him, and to follow in his retinue whenever he went abroad. Secretly repining at the contempt which he experienced, and the coercion to which he was subjected, Domitian assumed a great appearance of modesty, and pretended to devote himself to poetry, which he had never done before, and which he afterwards abandoned with disdain. He recited his compositions in public; and, if we are to believe the opinion of Pliny the elder, Quintilian, and many other competent judges, they were worthy of high commendation. As a poet of imperial rank, he laboured under this double disadvantage, that if his verses were bad, they would be extolled by his contemporaries, and even if they were good, posterity would suspect his panegyrists of mean adulation. He was always eager to exchange the pen for the sword; and when the Parthian king requested some Roman auxiliaries, Domitian anxiously strove to have the honour of commanding them. No auxiliaries were sent; but he endeavoured by gifts and promises to urge other princes of the East to make a similar petition, that he might have an opportunity

* See Vespasian's Life, Chap. 2.

DOMITIAN,

1.
A. D. 81.

of displaying his military powers. His qualifications for war were by no means equal to his desire of it. He was so averse to fatigue, that he seldom walked through the city; and in the expeditions which he undertook, he usually reposed in his litter, and was but little on horseback. He had no love of arms in general, but was exceedingly skilful in the use of the bow. With this weapon he often destroyed a hundred kinds of wild beasts at one sport, and, to show his dexterity, he would hit some of them in such a way, as to leave two arrows sticking in their foreheads like a pair of horns. Another of his feats was, to shoot his arrows accurately through the interstices of a boy's fingers, who stood at a distance with his hand expanded for a mark.

Domitian, being acknowledged as the sovereign of the Roman empire, consented that his brother, whom he was suspected of having murdered, should be enrolled among the gods. But, after deifying him, he did not forbear insidiously to attack his memory both in his speeches and edicts; and it soon became obvious, that in many parts of his conduct he was actuated by the sole desire of reversing what Titus had done, and discountenancing what he had approved. His father's friends, as well as his brother's, were odious to him, and were either treated with dishonour, or marked for destruction. As Vespasian and Titus had often been obliged to reject his requests, because they were unfit to be granted, he remembered their denial with long-cherished malignity. Although he possessed neither the solid virtues of his father, nor the shining qualities of his brother, he did not hesitate to boast in the senate, that he had given them the empire, and they had only returned it to him.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable indications which had been given of his character, his administration of public affairs was for some time distinguished by a considerable degree of equity and moderation. He was diligent and strict in the distribution of justice, personally inspecting the proceedings of the different judges, and checking them by admonition and punishment. In consequence of his vigilant superintendence, the magistrates of the city, and the governors of the provinces, never exhibited greater justice and purity in their conduct; although after his death, many of them were accused of all kinds of offences. Libellous publications were suppressed by him, and the authors of them disgraced. Undertaking the correction of the public morals, in conformity with his title of censor, he deprived women of infamous character of the use of the litter, and of the right of enjoying bequests and inheriting property. He expelled from the senate a person of quæstorian rank, on account of his fondness for dancing and pantomimic acting. He caused several persons to be condemned by the Scatinian law, which had been enacted for the suppression of impurity; and he removed from the list of judges a Roman knight, who had restored his wife to her matrimonial rights, after having divorced her on a charge of adultery. We shall see, however, that Domitian himself was guilty of a similar inconsistency. To restrain wanton profanation, he destroyed a monument which one of his freedmen had erected to his son from the stones destined for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and ordered the remains of the deceased to be thrown into the sea.

DOMITIAN,
I.
A. D. 81.

Suet. viii.
(Tit.) 8, 9.

In his early days, he was so far from showing any thirst for blood, that he is said to have enter-

DOMITIAN,
1.
A. D. 81.

tained a design of prohibiting the sacrifice of oxen, on remembering a line in Virgil, which alluded to that subject*. Liberality in the use of his own wealth, and a just respect for that of others, were virtues which he displayed in the commencement of his sovereignty. He was continually exhibiting to the people the most splendid and costly shows. All around him were treated with princely generosity, and were strictly admonished not to be guilty of any sordid act. If estates were bequeathed him by persons who had children, he refused them. Many, who had been harassed by long suits in the treasury, were acquitted by him; and he was exceedingly severe against those who made false and malicious prosecutions in fiscal matters, observing, that a prince who did not punish informers was guilty of encouraging them. While Domitian could speak and act with so much wisdom, it is related, that he was accustomed to set apart an hour every day, during which he retired into solitude, and amused himself with catching flies, and piercing them with a sharp instrument! This gave occasion to the facetious answer of Vibius Crispus, who, being asked if any one was with the emperor, replied: "No, not even a fly."

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 3.

DOMITIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 82.

Dion. 67.
Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 2, 13.

Domitian, who always appeared desirous of titles and honours, assumed the consulship the year after he became emperor, and also the six following years. He had been allowed to hold six consulships during the life of Vespasian, only one of which was ordinary, and that one was obtained by the favour of his brother. He was once consul under Titus; ten times he invested himself with the office; so that altogether he held seventeen consulships, a greater number than any person had

* *Impia quàm cæsis gens est epulata juvencis.*—Georg. ii.

before attained. But the dignity was of very inferior value now, to what it had been in the days of the Republic, when it was bestowed by the suffrages of the people, as the highest reward of merit; and Domitian's frequent assumption of it would serve to degrade it still lower in the estimation of the wise. Satisfied with the empty distinction of the name, he generally resigned the office on the ides of January, and never held it beyond the first of May. He obtained permission, however, to use four-and-twenty lictors, and to wear a triumphal dress, whenever he entered the senate.

DOMITIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 82.

His colleague in the first consulship under his own reign was Flavius Sabinus, his cousin, and son of that Sabinus who was killed in the Capitol during the Vitellian war. He appears to have been one of the earliest objects of Domitian's jealousy and fear; for when some of his attendants were arrayed in white, he was angrily reproved by the emperor, who exclaimed in the words of Homer, that it was not good to have many rulers.* When he was elected to the consulship, he was unfortunately proclaimed by the crier as emperor instead of consul; and this ill-omened mistake Sabinus was obliged to atone by his blood. He had married Julia, the only daughter of Titus, whom Domitian had refused when she was a virgin, and had corrupted when she became a wife. After the execution of her husband, he did not conceal the ardent affection which he entertained towards her; yet he was the author of her death, by endeavouring to produce the abortion of the child which she had conceived by Sabinus.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 10.
12. 22.

Whatever impurity Domitian exhibited in his

* Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη.

DOMITIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 82.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 8.
Dion. lxxvii.

own conduct, he did not tolerate the public commission of the offence in others. There were three Vestals, two of the name of Ocellata, and one of Varonilla, whose violation of their vows of chastity had escaped the animadversion of Vespasian and Titus. This neglect on the part of his father and brother, was a sufficient motive for stimulating the severity of Domitian; and he commanded the Vestals to be executed, allowing them the favour of choosing the mode of their death, and condemned the accomplices of their guilt to banishment. He also issued an edict, forbidding any more eunuchs to be made within the limits of his empire, although he himself was attached to one of that unfortunate class named Earinus. Titus had shown an extraordinary regard for such persons, and this was one of the reasons which prompted Domitian to make his prohibitory decree respecting them. The worst men have sometimes an opportunity of surpassing the most virtuous in solitary parts of their conduct; and this must be acknowledged by the impartial voice of history as an instance wherein the odious Domitian was more to be commended than his brother, who was denominated the Delight of Mankind.

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 6.
Dion. lxxvii.
Tac. Vit. Agr.
30.

The vain desire of military renown, with which Domitian had long been inspired, induced him to undertake an expedition into Germany. The pretended objects of his hostility were the Catti; but he returned not only without encountering, but even without seeing, an enemy. His ridiculous achievements were rewarded with a triumph; but as there were no real captives to march in the procession, he imitated the folly of the emperor Caligula, and procured persons who were taught to counterfeit the rugged inhabitants of Germany in the colour

of their hair, and the rest of their exterior. He assumed the title of Germanicus, although some medals ascribe it to him in the year 81; but doubtless his expedition was to be considered as an additional claim to so warlike an appellation. Other honours were bestowed upon him by the senate, to whom belonged the embarrassing task of pleasing a capricious master, who was offended both with those who appeared to undervalue his merit, and with those whose adulation was both gross and servile.

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.

While Domitian was priding himself in imagining trophies, real and splendid victories were gained by Julius Agricola, whose exploits in Britain we have hitherto forborne to mention, in order that they might be related in one uninterrupted series. Vespasian had kept Britain in subjection by the valour of Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus, the former of whom defeated the Brigantes in many sanguinary battles, and the other subdued the brave nation of the Silures. It was apparently in the year 78, that Agricola was sent by Vespasian to take command of the Roman legions, and continue the war with the unconquered Britons. As he did not arrive in the island until the middle of summer, he found his troops dispersed, and little expecting to undertake any campaign at so late a season of the year. Collecting, however, a moderate force, he marched against the Ordovices, or people of North Wales, who a short time before had massacred nearly an entire squadron of cavalry, that was stationed in their territory. He found them unwilling to meet him on level ground, and therefore attacked them on the heights which they had chosen, he himself leading his troops to the onset. The Ordovices were nearly all slaughtered;

Tac. Vit. Agr.
17, &c.

(A. D. 78.)

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.
(A. D. 78.)

and Agricola, to increase the fame of his first achievements, which he knew would prepare the way for future victories, determined to reduce Mona, or the isle of Anglesey. As he had no vessels prepared for such an expedition, he confided the attack to a select body of auxiliaries, who were acquainted with the fords, and whose national customs had taught them to swim without losing the guidance of their horses, or use of their arms, in the water. The Britons, who had imagined that their enemies could not cross the sea without a fleet, were so amazed both at their courage and their power of contrivance, that they sued for peace, and surrendered the island.

Such exploits, performed at a time which most officers would have wasted in useless parade or the necessary initiation into their duties, encircled the name of Agricola with great renown. Considering that he had only restored obedience in provinces which had formerly belonged to the empire, he forbore to announce his victories at Rome by letters adorned with laurel*; but the modesty of his silence exalted his reputation, as it was conceived that he who claimed no glory for such achievements contemplated that he had the power of performing much greater. His justice and moderation in government were still more honourable than his valour in war. Reflecting that oppression and extortion would certainly excite the natives to rebellion, he began by correcting abuses in his own troops, and in his own house. He would not allow slaves and freedmen to interfere in the administration of public affairs. Posts in his army were not granted either to the partiality of private friendship or the zeal of importunity, but he considered that

* *Laureatis.*

the most meritorious persons would serve him with the greatest fidelity. In all situations he thought it better to promote those who would not offend, than to have to punish them for their misdemeanours. Although no crimes escaped his vigilant observation, yet he did not inexorably punish all. Small offences were pardoned, great ones were noticed with severity, although he was often more pleased with the penitence, than with the chastisement, of the culprit. Nothing could have reconciled the Britons more effectually to his sway, than his desire to levy with equity the tribute of money and corn which was exacted from them; for such insolence and rapacity had been exercised by the collectors, as were more galling than the imposts themselves. Under former lieutenants the irregularities of peace had been as dreadful to the natives as the horrors of war; but Agricola endeavoured by impartiality and moderation to tempt them to acquiesce in the dominion of the Romans.

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.
(A. D. 78.)

In the following summer he harassed his enemies, and devastated their country, by sudden incursions; and when his prowess had inspired them with sufficient terror, his clemency and forbearance allured them into submission. Many states, that had been independent of the Romans, relinquished all warlike intentions against them, and gave hostages in token of their amity; but, not satisfied with these pledges, he carefully surrounded their territory with forts, in order to prevent any future outbreak. He spent the winter in promoting such schemes, as would change the rude habits of the Britons, and ensnare them into a love of ease and a taste for pleasure. By private exhortation, and by public assistance, he encouraged them to erect houses, market-places, and temples. The sons of

(A. D. 79.)
Tac. Vit. Agr.
20—27.

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.
—
(A. D. 79.)

their chiefs were instructed in the polite arts; and the people, who but lately had scorned the use of the Roman language, were animated with the desire of excelling in eloquence*. The toga was frequently worn instead of their own rough habiliments; and a love of elegant banquets, of baths and piazzas, gradually softened their manners. Such tastes (it is observed by Tacitus) the ignorant call *refinement*, while in reality they are the instruments of servitude. But, notwithstanding this censure of the philosophical historian, it may be affirmed, that civilization in itself is a positive benefit, and that it does not become injurious to any people, until by the excess of the advantages and luxuries which it produces, it depraves and corrupts their sentiments. Time and experience have shown, that while the Romans improved and refined the savage condition of the Britons, they were not able to destroy their ardent love of liberty.

(A. D. 80.)

In his third campaign Agricola, carrying his devastations as far as the river Tay, attacked nations that had never before been molested by the Roman arms. His troops had to encounter tempestuous weather; but the barbarians were too much terrified to provoke him to battle, and even allowed him time to erect castles, the situations of which were selected by him with extraordinary judgment. The Britons had been accustomed to compensate their defeats in summer by successful expeditions in winter; but the Romans now continued victorious through the whole year, making frequent sallies from their fortresses, which were well supplied with provisions, and in which at any

* The classical reader will remember the apposite lines of Juvenal.—Sat. xv. 111.

Gallia cauidicos docuit facunda Britannos:
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule.

season they could defy either the sudden assault, or the slow siege, of their enemies.

The following year was employed by Agricola in securing the conquests which he had made with so much rapidity. He retreated from the Tay*, and, observing two estuaries, those of the Forth and the Clyde, which left but a small portion of territory between their waters, he fortified this intermediate space, and thus intercepted his enemies in the northern part of the island, as if in a separate region.

Embarking the next summer in the first Roman ship that navigated those seas, he had frequent engagements with tribes of barbarians, who were unable to resist the disciplined valour of his troops. He collected some forces on the western coast, cherishing a hope that he might extend his conquests to Ireland, although he had not been provoked by any hostility from that country. The enterprising spirit of commerce had opened a way to her ports; and one of the petty princes, who had been banished from the island, had been received in a friendly manner by the Roman commander, in hope that he might assist his project of invasion. The scheme, however, was never realized by Agricola, although he had been taught to believe, that a single legion and a moderate portion of auxiliaries would have been sufficient for subduing Ireland, and for preserving it under the Roman yoke.

In the ensuing campaign, he directed the whole terror of his forces against the nations which he had enclosed to the north of the Forth. His fleet and army advanced simultaneously


DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.
(A. D. 81.)

(A. D. 82.)

(A. D. 83.)

* Ernesti in his note considers the *Taws* to have been the Tweed, and not the Tay. But Tacitus says it was an estuary (*estuario nomen est*), — a description hardly applying to the Tweed.

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.



with all the pomp of martial array; and the barbarians are said to have been terrified at observing, that their native seas presented neither a barrier to the assaults of their enemies, nor a place of refuge for themselves against the reverses of war. They were the first, however, to try the fortune of battle, and attacked the Roman castles with so much courage, that many of the invaders began to declare their opinion, that they ought to retreat behind the line of their fortifications. Agricola, despising their timid counsels, marched with his army in three divisions, that he might not be surrounded by his enemies, who were advancing (as he had heard) in separate bodies. The Caledonians, varying their movements in order to baffle their skilful adversary, attacked with all their forces the ninth legion, which was the weakest part of his army; and, as the assault was made at night, they easily overpowered the guards, and, spreading terror and confusion around them, contended for the possession of the Roman camp. Agricola, however, who was apprized of their march, soon came to the rescue of his legion, and ordered a body of light troops to fall upon their rear, until the remainder of his forces had arrived. The approach of dawn showed the Caledonians the dangerous position in which they were placed. The assaulted legion, cheered by the certain prospect of deliverance, redoubled their exertions, in order that the victory might appear their own achievement. The succouring army, on the other hand, strove to prove that they were not tardy in assisting their comrades; so that the Caledonians, surrounded by such adversaries, either perished by the sword, or fled for concealment into their forests and marshes. The Romans were so exhila-

rated by their victory, that they, who but lately had wished for a retreat, now imagined that their valour was insuperable, and that they should easily penetrate to the extremity of Britain. The Caledonians, considering that they had been defeated by stratagem more than strength, prepared for fresh struggles by arming their youth, conveying their wives and children into places of safety, and by forming a confederacy between the several states that had not submitted to the invaders.

DOMITIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 83.

In the same summer Britain was ascertained to be an island by a body of mutinous Germans. A cohort of Usipians, who had been sent to serve in Britain, having slain the centurion and other Roman soldiers that were placed over them, seized three light vessels and put to sea, with the hope probably of returning to their native country. As they had not sufficient courage or skill to effect this purpose, they were carried along the coasts of Britain, frequently contending with the natives for plunder, and at last were reduced to such extremity, that they fed upon the weakest of their comrades, who were selected by lot for the appalling doom. In this wretched condition they pursued their course round the island, and, after a long wandering, having lost their vessels through their ignorance of navigation, were captured by the Suevi and Frisii, and treated as pirates. Some of them who were sold as slaves arrived, through the hands of various purchasers, at the Roman territories on the Rhine, where the extraordinary voyage which they had performed conferred upon them a certain degree of renown.

Tac. Vit. Agr.
28.
Dion. lxxvi.

In his last campaign, Agricola, having sent his fleet to ravage the coasts of the enemy, marched with his army to the Grampian hills, where the

DOMITIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 84.

DOMITIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 84.
Tac. Vit. Agr.
29.

Britons were prepared to oppose his further progress. Stimulated by the desire of revenging their late defeat, they had sent embassies to the different states of the island, inviting all who were desirous of freedom to make one united effort for the deliverance of their country. Above thirty thousand Britons had assembled, when Agricola's army came in sight, and fresh troops of old and young warriors, eager for glory, continued to flock to their standards. Galgacus*, the most eminent among their chiefs for valour as well as birth, had so arranged his forces, that his first line stood at the bottom of a hill, his main body was compactly placed on the acclivities which rose behind, while his chariots and horsemen performed their tumultuous evolutions in the plain below. Agricola, confiding in his skill more than his numbers, formed his centre of eight thousand infantry, who were all allied troops; three thousand cavalry protected his wings; but his legions were kept in reserve, either to turn the wavering fortune of battle, or by their inactivity to furnish him with the specious boast, that he had gained a victory without the effusion

* Called *Calgacus* by later editors of Tacitus. If the harangue to the British army, which the historian puts into his mouth, bore much resemblance to what he really uttered, the Britons had indeed made progress in *eloquence*! Respecting the year in which the Romans gained their victory at the Grampian hills, several commentators have surmised, that it must have been subsequent to Agricola's sixth campaign, although not so noted in the text of Tacitus. They might, however, have alleged a positive proof, if they had remembered the words of the Roman general. *Hi sunt, quos proximo anno, unam legionem furto noctis adgressos, clamore debellastis.* (Cap. 34.) The first words of Agricola's oration, *Octavus annus est*, have also perplexed the commentators, some of whom have conjectured that we ought to read *septimus* instead of *octavus*. It may be observed, that Agricola's troops might have been serving their eighth year in Britain, even if he had not commanded them so long. But the battle was fought in the autumn, according to Tacitus. *Exactâ jam æstate spargi bellum nequibat.* (Cap. 38.) If, therefore, Agricola came into Britain in the summer of 78 (which is Tillemont's computation), he might loosely designate the autumn of 84, as *octavus annus*, considering each military year as ended with the summer months.

of Roman blood. The commencement of the action was not unfavourable to the Britons, who sustained a cloud of missiles with equal skill and firmness, and returned them in great numbers upon their adversaries. Their enormous swords without points, and the small shields which they carried, were arms that ill qualified them for close engagement; and Agricola, aware of the disadvantage under which they laboured, ordered a body of Batavians and Tungrians, who were expert in such combats, to assault them hand to hand. These auxiliaries, by their superior dexterity and the use of more suitable weapons, cut down the first line of the Britons, and, being emulously supported by the other cohorts, advanced against those ranks of the enemy that were stationed on the hill. The horsemen and chariots of the Britons, instead of withstanding the attack, were thrown into confusion, and obstructed the movements of each other. But the barbarians, who were ranged on the heights, and who had hitherto remained idle spectators of the battle, began to descend gradually from their position, with the intention of surrounding the victors in their progress. Agricola repulsed them vigorously with some squadrons of cavalry, which he had reserved for such an emergency, and at last, by dispatching a body of horse to attack them in the rear, he dismayed and routed them on all sides. Ten thousand Britons are said to have been slain, while only three hundred and sixty perished on the part of their adversaries. It is related, that some of the barbarians, after the engagement, slaughtered their own wives and children, believing that such violence was more compassionate, than to allow them to fall into the hands of the conquerors. Agricola, having completely dispersed his enemies,

DOMITIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 84.

DOMITIAN, ^{3, 4.}
A. D. 84.
Dion. lxvi. permitted his army to retire into winter quarters; but he first commanded the præfect of his fleet to sail round Britain, and confirm the discovery, which the Usipians had accidentally made, of its insular situation.

Tac. Vit. Agr.
39, 40.

Although Agricola was too modest to indulge in any boastful and exaggerated account of his exploits, yet the announcement of them was so far from gratifying Domitian, that it filled his bosom with all the pangs of secret jealousy and discontent. He was conscious that his late expedition against the Catti would appear to every one an object of just derision, when compared with the arduous achievements and real victories of Agricola. Having always been envious of the glory which his brother Titus had acquired in war, he was still less able to endure with composure the great and sudden renown, which one of his own generals had meritoriously earned. Instead of eliciting and fostering the virtues of others with that generosity, which would have caused part of their lustre to reflect upon himself, he contemplated nothing with so much dread, as to be outshone by the fame of a private individual. The eminence of another in civil arts and peaceful pursuits would have afflicted him with chagrin; but he was much more deeply grieved at seeing any one elevated to military renown, which he considered to be a distinction peculiarly due to the *imperial* name. After much anxious reflection, he resolved to dissemble his jealous hatred of Agricola, until the noise of his victories had subsided, and he had quitted Britain. He ordered, therefore, the senate to decree him a triumphal statue, and the highest honours which military commanders could then enjoy; at the same time he recalled him from Britain, artfully

alleging, that he intended him to succeed to the government of the province of Syria—an honourable post, which was then vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus. Agricola, having left Britain in a state of subjection and tranquillity, entered Rome during the night, in order to avoid the public congratulations of his friends, and the greetings of those who might be attracted by the fame of his exploits. He visited the palace also during the night, according to the commands which he had received, and, being presented to the emperor, was dismissed with a hasty salutation, which was not accompanied by any of those enquiries, that were naturally suggested by his enterprise in an unknown country. Conscious of the delicate situation in which he was placed, he retired into the privacy of domestic life, where his quiet and unassuming modesty was the only safeguard with which he could protect himself against the malevolent jealousy of Domitian.

DOMITIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 84.

In sailing round the north of Britain, the Romans not only discovered and subdued the Orkneys *, but boasted that they had caught a glimpse of the wonderful *Thule*. The objects which they really discerned were probably the Shetland Isles; but their opinion of Thule seems to have been vague and confused, as if they imagined it to be an island situated at the northern extremity of the habitable world. The sea near the Orkneys, according to the account of the Roman navigators, was sluggish and heavy to the oar †; and Tacitus

Tac. Vit. Agr.
10, &c.

* According to Eusebius, the Orkneys were added to the Roman empire in the time of Claudius. This is neither probable in itself, nor consonant with the express words of Tacitus. Juvenal seems to agree with Tacitus, when he describes them as *modo captas Orcadas*. (Sat. ii. 180.) They might have been imperfectly known in the age of Claudius, because Mela makes mention of them; but it is difficult to imagine that they were conquered at that time.

† *Mare pigrum et grave remigantibus.*

DOMITIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 84.

supposes, that the waters were less easily impelled on account of their immense depth and extent. In several circumstances the ancient historian's description of Britain is corroborated by the experience of its modern inhabitants. When he speaks of the humidity of the atmosphere, of the absence of severe cold, of the abundance of rain, of the cloudiness of the sky, and of the slowness with which fruits were ripened under the British sun, we learn that the lapse of many centuries has not effected any alteration in the climate or the soil of our island. When he alludes to the gold and silver found in our mines, and the pearls to be gathered on our shores, we might lament for a moment that we had failed to inherit part of the wealth of our ancestors ; but the pearls, he informs us, were dusky and livid, and nature has kindly left us more valuable mines than those of silver and gold. The shortness of the nights in the north of Britain was a phenomenon which attracted the notice not only of Tacitus, but of Juvenal * and other Romans. In speculating upon the origin of the Britons, Tacitus considers them to have been principally of Gallic extraction ; although he supposes, that German tribes might have settled in Caledonia, and the ancient Spaniards in South Wales. He pronounces the religious rites of the Gauls and Britains to have been similar, and their language not very different ; and he observes, that the two people corresponded in their military character, being prompt to seek danger, but when it arrived, not sufficiently resolute in encountering it. We shall not be ready to admit that this last point of similitude any longer exists between the inhabitants of Gaul and Britain. Tacitus candidly

* Sat. ii. 161.

acknowledges, that in the conquest of our island, nothing was more favourable to the Roman arms, than the want of union among the inhabitants. It was rare, he says, for two or three states to coalesce for their common preservation ; so that their formidable enemy, by attacking each separately, at length overcame the whole.

DOMITIAN,

3, 4.

A. D. 84.



CHAPTER II.

Various instances of the cruelty of Domitian.—His profusion in largesses, spectacles, and buildings, by which he is urged into all kinds of rapacity and extortion.—The Nasamones revolt and are massacred.—Domitian aspires to the name and worship of a god.—Institution of the Capitoline and other games.—Domitian undertakes two expeditions against the Dacians.—Defeated by the Marcomanni, and makes an ignominious peace with the Dacians.—The Romans, ashamed of the defeat of their armies, desire to see Agricola invested with the command.—L. Antonius revolts in Upper Germany.—Defeated and slain.—The cruelty of Domitian to his partisans.—A false Nero supported by the Parthians.—Many persons killed by poisoned needles.—Contests exhibited by Domitian on account of his Dacian victories, and the extraordinary entertainment given to the knights and senators.—Cornelia, a Vestal, buried alive, and her paramours punished.—Edict of Domitian respecting vines.—Conduct of Agricola in his retirement.—His illness, death and character.—Domitian's expedition against the Sarmatians.—His cruelty becomes more unrelenting.—Puts to death Helvidius, Senecio, and Rusticus, and banishes all philosophers from Rome and Italy.

DOMITIAN, THAT dubious mixture of virtue and vice, which
 4, 5.
 A. D. 85. appeared in the early administration of Domitian,
 was not of long continuance; for he soon indulged

in the practice of open and wanton cruelty. Jealousy of his wife Domitia urged him to kill Paris the dancer *, in the middle of the public road ; and when many of the citizens adorned the spot with flowers, he commanded them to be put to death. A pupil of Paris was slain by him, for no reason, except that he had the misfortune to bear some resemblance to his master. Hermogenes of Tarsus was killed for some free remarks which appeared in his history, and even the transcribers of the offensive work were crucified. Another person, who had uttered some words of apparently harmless import, was exposed to dogs in the amphitheatre, under pretence that he had spoken with impiety. Senators and men of the highest rank were sacrificed to the emperor's anger and suspicion ; and, among others, Civica Cerealis, proconsul of Asia, was condemned for some alleged project of rebellion. Trivial and accidental offences were made the plea for destruction. Ælius Lamia, whose wife Domitian had taken away, could not forbear uttering some jokes upon the subject. When the emperor commended his voice, he replied, *Alas, I am silent* ; and for this, and some other oblique allusions, he was put to death. Salvius Cocceianus was killed for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor Otho, who was his uncle. Metius Pomposianus was condemned because (according to the astrological fictions of the day) he had an imperial nativity ; and, to add to his criminality, he carried about with him a map of the world, with the orations of the kings and generals extracted from Livy, and dared to give his slaves the appellations of Mago and Annibal ! Lucullus,

DOMITIAN,
4, 5.
A. D. 85.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 10.
Dion. lxvii.

* According to some, this Paris was the object of Juvenal's allusions. Sat. vii. 90.

DOMITIAN, the lieutenant of Britain, was considered guilty, because he had distinguished some lances of a novel construction by his own name. As if to justify his cruelty by the pleas of reason or necessity, Domitian observed, that those princes, who executed but few of their subjects, were not to be congratulated so much for their clemency, as for their good fortune.

DOMITIAN, Although avarice and rapacity were repugnant to his natural disposition, yet he was hurried into these vices by the heedless profusion with which he had lavished his treasures. He had increased the pay of the soldiers; banquets and largesses were bestowed upon the people; and spectacles of all kinds were exhibited with unusual magnificence. Squadrons of ships, not much inferior to real fleets, engaged in a lake which he had excavated near the Tiber. To these expenses were added the sums that he squandered in building, for which (according to Plutarch) he entertained a most ungoverned propensity. Many of the edifices at Rome, which had been burned in the preceding reign, were restored by his munificence; but he inscribed them all with his own name, and made no mention of their ancient founders. In rebuilding the Capitol he is said to have expended more than twelve thousand talents in the gilding alone; while the pillars were constructed of Pentelic marble. Having exhausted his resources by so many acts of extravagance, he endeavoured to reduce his expenses by diminishing the number of his troops; but, when he reflected that such a plan would expose him to the insults and attacks of foreign nations, he began to relieve his necessities by the merciless plunder of his own subjects. The property of the living and the dead was seized by him, upon the

DOMITIAN,
4, 5.
A. D. 85.

DOMITIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 86.
Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 5, 12.

Vit. Public.

most trivial offence alleged by the most worthless accuser. Any disrespectful action or word was construed into treason against the emperor; and estates of persons, who were utterly unknown to him, were converted to his use, if a single witness declared, that he had heard the deceased avow their intention to make Cæsar their heir. Of those, whose wealth was to be sacrificed to his rapacity, some were openly accused in the senate, some were condemned in their absence, and others were insidiously destroyed by poison. The Jews, particularly, were harassed with rigid exactions; and accusations were laid against those, who lived in the city without making a public profession of their religion, or who, by concealing their origin, wished to escape the tribute imposed upon their countrymen. It is not improbable that the Christians were in some instances confounded with the Jews. Suetonius relates, that when he was a young man, he saw a Jew, who was ninety years of age, exposed to personal indignity in a large assembly, in order to discover whether he was circumcised.

DOMITIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 86.

The avidity with which Domitian extorted money Zonar. from all ranks, occasioned some disturbances in the provinces. The Nasamones, a rude people of Africa, were so incensed by their wrongs, that they flew to arms, and, having defeated Flaccus, the governor of Numidia, gained possession of his camp. But the wine, which they found there, gave a fatal termination to their victory; for Flaccus, attacking them while they were inebriated, made a general massacre of their disorderly troops*.

* Cyrus (if we are to believe the history of Herodotus, i. 207—211) defeated the Massagetæ by leaving abundance of wine in the camp which he abandoned to them, and attacking them in their drunken revelry.

DOMITIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 86.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 13.
Plin. Paneg.

The arrogance of Domitian increased with his other vices. He allowed no statues to be erected in the Capitol, unless they were of silver or gold, and of a certain weight; and, according to Pliny, the images of the gods exhibited but a mean appearance in comparison with those of the presumptuous emperor. He not only assumed the name of *Germanicus* himself, but gave it to the month of September, in which he had succeeded to the imperial power; and he ordered the month of October, in which he was born, to be distinguished by the appellation of *Domitianus*. His pride at last was inflamed into impiety, and he began to speak of himself as a god, and to exact idolatrous homage from his degraded subjects. He had divorced his wife Domitia, on account of her inordinate attachment to Paris the actor; but, as the separation was irksome to him, he recalled her after a short time, declaring in his edict, that she was restored to his *divine couch* *. The title of *dominus*, or lord, though rendered innocent to our ears by long custom, was rejected by all preceding emperors, except Caligula, as an appellation due only from slaves to their masters; Domitian, however, showed no aversion to it when the people saluted him with it in the amphitheatre. When he prescribed the form to be observed in the letters of his procurators, he used these blasphemous words, *Our lord and god thus commands*; and, as the baseness of the people was equal to his own impiety, every one afterwards greeted him with these titles both in writing and conversation. So many victims were sacrificed before his statues, that the Capitoline road was often obstructed by the flocks; but, numerous as they were, they probably did not

* Pulvinar suum.

exceed the human beings that were immolated to his cruelty.

DOMITIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 86.

Although he claimed divine homage for himself, he augmented, rather than diminished, the honours paid to the ancient Roman deities. He instituted quinquennial games to Jupiter Capitolinus, which consisted not merely of contests in music, racing, and gymnastic exercises, but were elevated by intellectual trials of skill in Greek and Latin prose. In the foot-race even virgins were competitors. He himself presided at these spectacles, arrayed in a purple robe of the Grecian style, and wearing a golden crown adorned with the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The priest of Jupiter, and the priests of the Flavian family, sat near him, habited like the emperor, but their crowns exhibited the addition of his image. He celebrated games every year on the Alban mount, in honour of Minerva, and wished himself to be considered as the son of that goddess. Persons chosen by lot from the college of her priests, were obliged to defray the expense of scenic exhibitions, chases of wild animals, and contests in eloquence and poetry.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 4.

The war with the Dacians, a bold people on the north of the Danube, was the most important one in which Domitian was engaged; but we are not able to collect many particulars of it from the ancient historians. It is supposed to have begun in the year 86, and to have continued several years. Decebalus, the chief of the Dacians, being prompt in action, and well versed in all the stratagems of war, was a formidable antagonist; and when the Romans were defeated by him, and Oppius Sabinus, a man of consular rank, was slain, Domitian himself undertook an expedition against the barbarians.

Dion. lxxvii.
Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 6.

DOMITIAN,

5, 6.
A. D. 80.

His timidity and indolence did not allow him to engage in the active scenes of war; and the operations of his armies, which he confided to others, were in general unsuccessful. Flattering accounts, however, of his achievements, were transmitted to Rome. Decebalus, who was probably aware of the unequal contest, was willing to terminate the war; but his overtures for peace were rejected, and Cornelius Fuscus, the prætorian præfect, was entrusted with the chief command of the Roman forces. On his return to Rome Domitian was apprized, that his troops had been routed, and that Fuscus was killed; and this mournful intelligence induced him to march a second time against the Dacians. He fortunately selected Julianus to prosecute the war; and this general, in addition to other arrangements which denoted his prudence, commanded his soldiers to inscribe upon their shields both their own names and those of their centurions, in order that the bravery or cowardice of each individual might be more easily ascertained. Having encountered the Dacians at Tapæ, he slaughtered the greater part of them. Vezinas, who was second in command in the barbarian army, threw himself upon the plain, pretending to be dead, and escaped at night. Decebalus, fearing that an assault might be made on his palace, ordered a number of trees to be cut down, and the trunks of them to be covered with arms, in order that the Romans might be deterred by the hostile appearance; and this artifice, we are informed, was successful.

By steadily pursuing his advantages, Domitian might probably have terminated the Dacian war with glory; but he turned his arms against some new enemies, the Quadi and Marcomanni, who had

offended him by not sending succours against the Dacians. To punish their neglect he marched into Pannonia; and, forgetful of his own dignity, and of the rights of nations, he slew the second deputation of ambassadors which they sent to him. The Marcomanni, however, were victorious in battle; and Domitian, fleeing ignominiously before them, was compelled to send messengers to Decebalus, and to make proposals for peace, after he had several times rejected the pacific offers of the Dacian chief. The perilous state of his affairs induced Decebalus to accept of the treaty; but instead of paying personal submission to the emperor, he sent his brother, Diegis, to surrender the arms, and all the captives which he would acknowledge to be in his possession. Domitian then placed a diadem on the head of Diegis, as if his conquests had given him the right of bestowing a king upon the Dacians; he rewarded his own soldiers with money and with honours; and made great ostentation of his victory at Rome, sending thither the ambassadors of Decebalus, and a letter of that chief, as he alleged, although others affirmed that it was composed by himself. He had purchased peace from the Dacian commander, not only by the present of a large sum of money, and of workmen in various arts, but by promising to pay in future a continual sum from his own imperial treasury. In the progress of the war, the disgrace which attended their arms, naturally induced the Romans to regret, that Agricola was no longer at the head of their legions. Tacitus relates, that many armies were lost in Mœsia and Dacia, Germany and Pannonia, by the temerity or indolence of their commanders; and that a doubtful contest was commenced not merely for the limits of the empire

DOMITIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 86.

Tac. Vit. Agr.
41.

DOMITIAN,

5, 6.
A. D. 80.

and the banks of the Danube, but for the winter quarters of the legions, and the possession of the ancient provinces. When losses were multiplied, and each year was disgraced with fresh misfortunes, the people desired to see Agricola invested with the command of the troops, as the contrast was so striking between his vigour and skill in the operations of war, and the sloth and inexperience of the other generals. The sentiments of the citizens penetrated even the privacy of Domitian, and from different motives were seconded by some of his freedmen; but the pusillanimous jealousy which he entertained of the merits of others would not suffer him to bestow upon Agricola that authority, of which all proclaimed him to be most deserving.

DOMITIAN,

7, 8.
A. D. 88.Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 6, 7.
Dion. lxxvii.
Plut. Vit.
Æmil.

While the empire was attacked by foreign enemies, Domitian's power was for a moment endangered by the revolt of one of his own generals. L. Antonius, the governor of Upper Germany, was provoked by the insults and cruelties of the emperor, to raise the standard of rebellion; and as the barbarians were ready to cross the Rhine, and support his cause, a formidable contest was expected. L. Maximus attacked the insurgents, and at the time of the engagement the Rhine suddenly overflowed its banks, and prevented the Germans from giving their promised assistance. Thus Antonius was defeated and slain, and the revolt was suppressed with unexpected facility. This victory is said to have been announced at Rome by an extraordinary presage; for, on the very day of battle, an eagle flew around the statue of Domitian, embracing it with his wings, and uttering cries of great exultation. In consequence of this omen a report was soon spread, that Antonius was killed; and as the credulity of the vulgar increased, many

confidently averred, that they had seen the head of the rebel brought into Rome. Domitian, upon the first intelligence which he received of the insurrection, prepared to oppose it in person, and, as it was treason to desert the emperor in the hour of danger, senators, although of advanced age and retired habits, were expected to accompany him. Although the report of the defeat of Antonius was generally credited, there was no sufficient voucher for the pleasing assurance. Domitian, therefore, began his expedition, but was satisfactorily apprized on the road, that his troops had really gained the victory which fame had ascribed to them.

DOMITIAN,
7, 8.
A. D. 88.

The success of Maximus in the field did not rebound so much to his honour, as did the heroic resolution with which he took upon himself the responsibility of burning all the papers found in the possession of Antonius, in order that they might not furnish materials of accusation against his countrymen. But the rage of the tyrant was not to be so easily disappointed of its victims. Domitian's cruelty, inflamed by revenge and anger, not only impelled him to make a strict search for all the latent accomplices of the revolt, but suggested to him a new method of torturing them. Fire was applied to some, and others were condemned to have their hands amputated. An extraordinary number of persons was killed: two only of any eminence, a tribune and centurion, were spared, having advanced a disgraceful excuse, which, if it proved them innocent of rebellion, convicted them of a still greater crime*. To prevent that combination among legions, which was favourable to plans of insurrection,

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 10.

* Se Impudicos probaverant.

DOMITIAN,
7, 8.
A. D. 88.

Domitian forbade them to unite their camps. He also ordered that no soldier should deposit more than a thousand sesterces* at the standards; for it was supposed, that the amount of these military savings, coming from two legions, had encouraged Antonius in his ambitious designs.

Suet. vi. 57.

Although Nero had been dead twenty years, yet a person of uncertain origin pretended to his name, and was warmly supported by the Parthians, who were favourable to the memory of that prince. After some difficulty the impostor was surrendered to the Romans.

Dion. lxxvii.

About the same time a new and insidious method of revenge was adopted at Rome, and in all parts of the civilized world. Assassins with poisoned needles punctured such persons as accident or malice pointed out to them, and the victims often perished without knowing from what hand their death proceeded. Many, however, of the offenders were discovered and punished.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 14.

The Sæcular Games were celebrated A. D. 88, which was but 41 years after their celebration by Claudius.

DOMITIAN,
10, 11.
A. D. 91.
Dion. lxxvii.

When the war with the Dacians was finished, Domitian exhibited a variety of entertainments in commemoration of his achievements. Battles were fought in the circus between bodies of infantry and cavalry; and a naval engagement was fatal to nearly all the combatants, and to many of the spectators. For during the contest a violent tempest of rain descended, and Domitian, with tyrannical caprice, would not allow the people to depart from the spectacle. He protected himself from injury by changing his cloaks; but, as others had not the same opportunity of resisting the

* £7. 16s. 3d. English.

DOMITIAN,
10, 11.
A. D. 91.

elements, many of them were seized with disorders and died. To console the citizens for his selfish and arbitrary conduct, he gave them a public banquet, which lasted all night. He was in the habit of exhibiting contests at night, and sometimes he selected women and dwarfs to engage together. Having endeavoured to pacify the people, he devised a most extraordinary entertainment for the principal knights and senators. They were introduced, without their attendants, into a chamber hung with black from top to bottom, while the seats also were of the same dismal colour. Before each person was placed a sepulchral pillar inscribed with his own name, and a small lamp, such as was suspended in tombs. After some time, naked boys, besmeared with black, began to dance around them, like spectres, or to stand before their feet; the rites observed at funeral sacrifices were performed; and the trembling senators expected every moment to be numbered among the dead, especially as Domitian talked of nothing but deaths and slaughters, while all besides maintained a deep silence. When they had been sufficiently terrified by this gloomy spectacle, they were conducted to their homes; but as strangers, instead of their own slaves, attended them, they began to be harassed with new fears. On arriving at their own houses, they had not time to recover from their alarm, before it was announced to each, that a messenger from the emperor demanded to see him. They now believed that the sentence of death was certainly to be executed upon them; but to their great amazement they all received some costly present from the emperor, and at last the boys, who had played the part of spectres, came to them washed and gaily

DOMITIAN,
10, 11.
A. D. 91.

attired. With such acts of cruelty, and some others of a more fierce and sanguinary nature, Domitian celebrated his Dacian victories; and the people rightly designated his sports as funeral, rather than triumphal, shows.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 8.
Plin. Ep. iv.
11.

Cornelia, one of the Vestal virgins, who had formerly been accused of breaking her vows of chastity, and acquitted, was again charged with the same offence, and condemned to the horrible punishment of being interred alive. Domitian, in his office of *Pontifex Maximus*, undertook the investigation of the crime, and assembled the other pontiffs in his Alban villa. As he was desirous of signalizing his reign by an instance of extraordinary punishment, he condemned Cornelia without granting her a hearing, or permitting her to be present at the trial: little reflecting that he, who had committed incest with his brother's daughter, and afterwards occasioned her death, was most unfit to judge with rigour the impurities of others. Pliny questions, whether the accused was guilty or not; but the pontiffs were commanded to see the dreadful sentence of the law executed upon her. Lifting her hands sometimes to Vesta, and sometimes to the other deities, she indulged in various complaints; but her chief exclamation was, that Cæsar thought her unchaste, although he had gained victories and triumphs, while she was his priestess. As she was descending into the subterranean chamber, which was to be her tomb, her robe becoming entangled, she turned and carefully readjusted it; and when the public executioner offered her his hand, she shrunk from his assistance, as if contact with him would defile her. These two instances of her behaviour are considered by Pliny as marks of her decorum and sanctity, although they are very far

from proving her innocence. Those who were accused of being her paramours were scourged to death; and one of them, a knight named Celer, protested to the last that he was not guilty. While Domitian was labouring under the infamy arising from these cruel executions, he caused an accusation to be laid against Valerius Licinianus, a man of prætorian rank, and an eloquent pleader, for having concealed a freedwoman of Cornelia on his lands. The accused listened to the suggestions of those who advised him to plead guilty, rather than submit to an ignominious death; and his confession was received with so much joy by Domitian, that he exclaimed, "Licinianus acquits us." Punishment, mitigated in some of its circumstances, was inflicted upon the culprit. Nerva permitted him to reside in Sicily, where he became a teacher of rhetoric, and used to inveigh with considerable bitterness against the mutability of fortune, which made senators of professors, and professors of senators.

DOMITIAN,
10, 11.
A. D. 91.

An abundance of wine, accompanied with a scarcity of corn, induced Domitian to believe, that husbandry was neglected for the more pleasing labour of cultivating the grape. He, therefore, published an edict, commanding that new vines should not be planted in Italy, and that in the provinces half of the vineyards, at least, should be destroyed. He did not, however, persist in the execution of his plan; and as his timidity and suspicion gradually increased, it is supposed that he was terrified by a distich in Greek*, which threatened that, although he should destroy the

DOMITIAN,
11, 12.
A. D. 92.
Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 7, 14.

* Κάν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ρίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω,
"Ὅσον ἐπισπείσαι Καίσαρι θνομένῳ.

DOMITIAN,
12, 13.
A. D. 93.

Tac. Vit. Agr.
40, &c.

vine, there would remain sufficient of its juice to pour a libation on him when he was sacrificed.

The death of Agricola was undoubtedly a gratifying event to the malignant disposition of his oppressor. After the successful progress of his arms in Britain, to which no obstacle remained but the insuperable jealousy of the emperor, Agricola had withdrawn into the most unostentatious retirement of private life; but the dangerous renown which he had acquired would not suffer him to end his days without molestation. He was often accused at the tribunal of Domitian; but his innocence prevailed, and he was acquitted, as he was accused, without a hearing. Having held the dignity of consul, he was entitled to cast lots for the proconsulship of some province; but when the season approached for obtaining this honour, the agents of Domitian began to urge him in an insinuating manner not to accept it, and at last, by open persuasions and threats, induced him to comply with their suggestion. The emperor, disguising his feelings with studied haughtiness, permitted him to decline the proconsulship, and received his thanks for the ungenerous boon. Tacitus observes, that it is one of the vices of men to hate those whom they have injured; yet the fierce and implacable nature of Domitian was softened by the moderation and prudence of Agricola, notwithstanding the flagrant injustice with which he had treated him. Agricola did not, by a bold contumacy and a vain ostentation of liberty, provoke the anger of the tyrant; but he showed how it was possible for men to be great even under the worst of princes. By practising obedience without servility, and by restraining the display of his vigour and talents to safe and lawful occasions, he acquired (in the opinion of the Roman

historian) a higher title to praise, than those less discreet patriots, who have destroyed themselves by their temerity, without conferring essential benefit on their country.

DOMITIAN,
12, 13.
A. D. 93.

The illness with which Agricola was attacked filled the whole city with apprehension and anxiety; and, when he expired, his enemies did not rejoice at his death, nor did his friends hastily forget it. There was a rumour prevalent that he had been poisoned; but Tacitus declares, that he had made no discovery which confirmed the truth of it. He relates, however, that Agricola, in the course of his sickness, received unusual visits from the freedmen and physicians of the emperor; that on his last day, changes of his dying condition were announced to Domitian by couriers appointed for the purpose; and that no one believed, the emperor would adopt such means to accelerate news that would be unacceptable to him. Being apprized of his death, he thought it becoming to exhibit an appearance of deep sorrow. Agricola, with the view, doubtless, of preserving part of his property for his wife and daughter, had made the emperor co-heir with them; and when Domitian heard of the bequest, he was as much pleased as if it had been the free and unbiassed act of the testator. His mind (says Tacitus) was so blinded by continual adulation, that he was unable to discern, that none but a bad prince would be selected by a just and virtuous parent for his heir.

Agricola was a native of Forum Julii, an ancient and illustrious colony in Gaul. He died on the twenty-third of August, A. D. 93; but it does not appear certain, whether he was in the fifty-fourth or fifty-sixth year of his age. His exterior was remarkable for modesty rather than dignity. His countenance indicated the virtues of his mind;

DOMITIAN,
12, 13.
A. D. 93.

and his whole conduct proved, that he was satisfied with the intrinsic qualities of true greatness, without attempting to exalt himself by the ostentatious arts of external pomp. Unless the pen of Tacitus was biassed by the warmth of his affection, we must believe, that Roman history cannot exhibit many men greater than Agricola, whether we consider the nature of his military exploits, the prudence of his civil conduct, or the unaffected simplicity of his character. Persons have often obtained a transient splendour by uniting their fortunes with those of some rich and eminent family; but it was the lot of Agricola to gain immortal renown by bestowing his daughter upon Tacitus, whose genius was equal to the task of transmitting to posterity the most brilliant actions which his father-in-law could achieve.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 6.

Domitian undertook an expedition against the Sarmatians to revenge the loss of one of his legions that had been slaughtered by them, together with the lieutenant who commanded it. There is no account of his exploits; and they do not appear to have been very brilliant even in his own opinion, as he did not aspire to a triumph, but only presented a crown of laurel to Jupiter Capitolinus, in commemoration of his success. He assumed, however, the title of *Imperator*, which, as he was vainly fond of warlike distinctions, he had taken one-and-twenty times before.

DOMITIAN,
13, 14.
A. D. 94.
Tac. Vit. Agr.
44, 45.

The ferocity of his disposition increased with his years; and the unhappy citizens, who had hitherto enjoyed some intervals in the visitations of his cruelty, were now afflicted with one continued assault of unrelenting tyranny. Rome, at once the mistress of the world and the slave of a single despot, was condemned to see her senate sur-

rounded with armed men, her citizens of consular rank ignominiously executed, and her most illustrious women driven into banishment. Her condition was in one respect more miserable now than under Nero, because he had the modesty to withdraw his eyes, and not to make himself a witness of those crimes, which he had commanded to be executed; while under Domitian the Romans were harassed by the perpetual grievance of watching, and being watched, by the tyrant who oppressed them. Almost every countenance was pale with suspicion and fear; and the very sighs of men were observed and registered as proofs of their disaffection. The emperor deigned to confer with base accusers and witnesses, and assist them in concerting plans of nefarious falsehood. He often conversed alone with prisoners, not venturing to trust the communication to others; but the dastardly inquisitor held their chains in his hands, for fear of suffering the just consequences of their contempt or anger. His cruelty often gratified itself in artful and insidious modes of revenge. One person was invited into his chamber, and treated with the highest marks of familiarity and confidence, the day before he was crucified by him; and another was allowed to ride in the same vehicle, until he was suddenly condemned upon a capital charge. In derision of the feelings of those whom he had resolved to sacrifice, he never doomed them to death without some preface respecting clemency; and at length it was understood, that an exordium about mercy was one of the most certain precursors of a cruel and sanguinary sentence.

DOMITIAN,
13, 14,
A. D. 94.

Dion. lxxvii.
Suet viii.
(Dion.) 11.

The fate of several illustrious persons, who were victims of his barbarity, has been noticed by the ancient writers. Helvidius, son of that Helvidius

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 10.
Plin. Ep. ix.
13.

DOMITIAN,
13, 14.
A. D. 94.

Priscus who had been put to death by Vespasian, was a man of consular rank, and so sensible of the dangerous times in which he lived, that he endeavoured to conceal in privacy the name and the virtues with which he was adorned. He was accused, however, of having ridiculed the divorce of Domitian, in a farce which he had written upon the subject of Paris and CEnone. The alleged offence was considered as treasonable; and Helvidius was put to death, after being dragged to prison by some senators, who did not scruple to degrade their order by so unworthy an action. Publicius Certus, a man of prætorian rank, was conspicuously active in this disgraceful affair; and nothing (says Pliny) appeared more atrocious, even in days which were prolific of crimes, than that one senator should lay his hands upon another, and that a judge should seize a criminal. Certus was to have been rewarded by the consulship; but the zealous remonstrances of Pliny, after the death of Domitian, prevented him from enjoying the expected recompense of his baseness.

Dion. lxvii.
Plin. Ep. vii.
19.

Herennius Senecio had offended Domitian by several proofs of his independent spirit, and at last was condemned to death for writing the life and panegyric of Helvidius Priscus. In his defence he declared, that he had undertaken the work at the request of Fannia, the widow of Priscus; and this virtuous woman, the daughter of Pætus Thrasea, boldly avowed that such was the fact, and that she had supplied the memoirs necessary for the task. Her property was, therefore, confiscated, and she was sentenced to exile; but she carefully preserved and carried with her the proscribed work, which was the cause of her persecution. She had twice followed her husband into

banishment, and she was distinguished not only for unshaken fortitude in bearing these repeated calamities, but for a rare combination of other virtues. Her chastity, piety, and solidity of character, are highly commended; and they were softened by a courteous and graceful demeanour, which made her appear as amiable as she was estimable. She was worthy (in the opinion of Pliny) to be exhibited as a model of virtue to the matrons of Rome, and even men might have copied the example of her courage and firmness.

DOMITIAN,
13, 14.
A. D. 94.

Junius Rusticus was another eminent man, who, being too free to live under the government of Domitian, was executed for publishing the praises of Pætus Thræsea and Helvidius Priscus, whom he designated as persons of the greatest sanctity of character. Pliny has recorded the love and respect which he entertained for the virtues of Rusticus, and acknowledges, that in his youth he had been guided by his exhortations, and had been excited by his praises to aspire to excellence. Mauricus, the brother of Rusticus, was exiled; and Domitian, eager to wage an indiscriminate war against all that was wise and virtuous, banished the philosophers of every sect from Rome and Italy. Among the victims of this barbarous decree was the celebrated Epictetus, who retired from Rome to Nicopolis. Truly (says Tacitus) the Romans of that age exhibited an uncommon example of patient submission; and as their ancestors had reached the extreme point of liberty, so they experienced the extreme point of slavery, the natural intercourse of speaking and hearing being destroyed by cruel inquisitions. They would have lost their memories as well as their freedom of speech, if it had been as easy for a tyrant to enjoin

Plin. Ep. i. 14.

Aul. Gell. xv.

11. Tac. Vit. Agr.

2.

DOMITIAN, forgetfulness, as it was to command silence. The
13, 14.
A. D. 94.
writings of Senecio and Rusticus were publicly
burned in the forum, as if the flames which ex-
tinguished them could subdue, at the same time,
the complaints of the Roman people, the voice of
the senate, and the common sentiments of mankind.

CHAPTER III.

Conspiracy and escape of Celsus.—Death of Glabrio.—Death of Flavius Clemens, and persecution of the Christians.—Domitian's apprehensions of death.—Predictions concerning it.—A conspiracy formed against him by Stephanus and others.—He is assassinated in his chamber on the eighteenth of September.—His character and burial.—His bodily advantages and defects.—His neglect of literary accomplishments.—His private habits.—Extraordinary exclamation attributed to Apollonius of Tyana on the day of Domitian's death.—Quintilian, and other writers of the age of Domitian.

WHILE many persons were destroyed for venial offences, Juvenius Celsus by extraordinary fortune escaped the punishment due to the highest political crime. Having conspired with some others against the life of Domitian, he was detected in his project; but, in order to avert immediate destruction, he requested to have a private interview with the emperor. Approaching him with all the marks of adoration, and frequently bestowing upon him the flattering appellations of Lord and God, he protested that he was innocent of the conspiracy, and that, if he was indulged with a sufficient delay, he would carefully investigate the affair, and disclose the names of many who were actually guilty. Being respited upon this delusive plea, he forbore to implicate any others in his crime, and, under various

DOMITIAN,
14, 15.
A. D. 95.
Dion. lxxvii.

DOMITIAN, pretences, procrastinated the business until the ensuing year, when Domitian was slain.

14, 15.
A. D. 95.

Acilius Glabrio, who held the consulship with Trajan in the year 91, was first banished by Domitian upon a vague charge of treason, and afterwards put to death. His real offence was, that he had excited the envy of the pusillanimous tyrant, who in some sports at his Alban villa had commanded him to encounter a great lion, and was mortified at seeing him destroy the beast without suffering any injury.

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 15.
Euseb. iii. 19,
20.
Tertull.
Apol. 5.

Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domitian, was consul this year, and had scarcely laid down his office, when he was put to death: his wife Flavia Domitilla, also a relation of the emperor's, was banished to the isle of Pandataria. He was a man whose want of energy made him little to be dreaded; and his two young sons had been openly acknowledged as the successors of Domitian, who had ordered one of them to be called by his own name, and the other by that of Vespasian. The tyrant's suspicions, kindled upon the slightest pretext, were fatal to Clemens. According to Dion, he and his wife were accused of *atheism**; and the historian relates, that many other persons, who had adopted the manners of the Jews, being condemned for the same offence, were either slain, or deprived of their property. The truth is, that Domitian, either impelled by his natural cruelty, or alarmed by some false accounts which he had heard of the kingdom of Christ, and the claims of the descendants of David, had commenced a persecution against the Christian church. Clemens, his wife Domitilla,

* 'Ἀθεώτης. The worship of only one God was so directly opposed to the polytheism of the ancients, that they might, by a natural exaggeration, revile the Christians as *atheists*, or deniers of the gods in general.

and his niece of the same name, are recorded among those, who had the glory of being early martyrs and sufferers in behalf of Christianity. Antipas, who is mentioned in the second chapter of the Apocalypse, is supposed to have been slain at this time. It is the common tradition respecting the Apostle St. John, that he was cast by the order of Domitian into a vessel of boiling oil, from which he emerged without having suffered any bodily injury. This miracle (according to Mosheim*) is not attested in such a manner as to leave it indisputable; but it is acknowledged, that St. John was banished by the revengeful tyrant to the island of Patmos. There are said to have been many other victims of the persecution, which continued during part of the last two years of Domitian's life. He either voluntarily desisted from it, on learning the humble condition in which the grandsons of St. Jude, the relations of Christ, were placed by providence, or his fury was arrested by that fatal punishment which terminated all his other crimes.

DOMITIAN,
14, 15.
A. D. 95.

Having rendered himself hateful to all men, he was agitated with incessant fears of the fate which was to overtake him. It is related, that when he was a young man, the year and day of his death, and even the hour and mode of his destruction, had been intimated to him by the astrologers. His father also is said to have ridiculed him once for abstaining from mushrooms; because, if he had known his fate, he would rather have been apprehensive of the sword. As the dreaded time approached, his mind was tormented with increasing suspicion and anxiety, and he ordered the walls of the piazzas, in which he was accustomed to walk, to be

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 14, &c.
Dion. lxxvii.

* Cent. I. part i. chap. 5.

DOMITIAN,
14, 15.
A. D. 95.

inlaid with a bright stone called *phengites*, in which he could see by reflection whatever was done behind him. To inspire his attendants with a belief, that the life of their emperor was sacred under all circumstances, he put to death Epaphroditus, his master of requests, because he had presumed to assist Nero in killing himself, even when he was reduced to a state of destitution and despair.

DOMITIAN,
15.
A. D. 96.

Storms of thunder and lightning which continued for a period of eight months (together with other alleged prognostics) were supposed by the Romans to announce the death of the emperor. Express predictions, relative to that event, were uttered by two persons, who aspired to a greater knowledge of futurity than others. An astrologer named Ascleterion, having pretended to foretell the time and manner of Domitian's death, was asked by him, if he had skill to discover his own fate; upon which he replied, that he should soon be devoured by dogs. The emperor commanded him to be executed immediately, and, to confute his pretensions to the prophetic art, gave orders that his body should be carefully burned, and the ashes interred. During the ceremony, a sudden storm arising overthrew the funeral pile and extinguished the fire; and, in the confusion, the dogs got possession of the corpse, which was only half burned. This verification of the astrologer's prediction is said to have afflicted Domitian with greater dismay than any of the other presages. In Germany, Larginus Proculus publicly affirmed, that Domitian would die on the day on which he was really killed; and, being sent to Rome, and persisting in his declaration, he was condemned to death. His sentence seems to have been passed on the morning of Domitian's assassination; but,

as the execution of it was deferred, he survived the emperor, and received from Nerva a considerable sum of money for his presumed skill.

DOMITIAN,

15.

A. D. 96.

The conspiracy by which Domitian was destroyed was concerted within the very walls of his palace, by his wife, his attendants, and guards, who reflected, that their lives were no more secure from his capricious tyranny, than those of the other citizens. His freedman Stephanus (who was accused of embezzling the property of Domitilla, whose procurator he had been), and his chamberlains Parthenius and Sigerus, were the principal agents in the plot; his wife Domitia was also privy to it, together with Norbanus and Petronius Secundus, the prætorian prefects, and some others. All these persons (according to the accounts which Dion had heard) being suspected by the emperor, were destined for destruction, and their names were written in some tablets which he deposited under the pillow of his bed. These tablets, as he was sleeping in the day-time, were taken by a child who was admitted into the chamber for the sake of diversion, and thence coming into the possession of Domitia, and being perused by her, were shown to those who were so deeply concerned in their contents. Being impelled by their danger to hasten the execution of the plot, they began to deliberate upon the time and manner of destroying their enemy, whether they should slay him in the bath or at supper. Stephanus proposed to them a plan, which met with their approval; and undertaking to be himself the principal actor in it, he appeared for some days with his left arm wrapped in bandages, in order that he might seem less capable of committing any violence.

The eighteenth of September was the day, which

DOMITIAN,
15.
A. D. 96.

his own apprehensions, and the predictions of others, had surrounded with so much terror in the mind of Domitian. On the seventeenth, when he ordered some mushrooms to be preserved for the following day, he added with dismal forebodings, "If, indeed, I shall be allowed to taste them;" and turning to the bystanders, he declared, that on the ensuing day the moon would be sanguinary in Aquarius, and that a deed would be perpetrated, which would be a subject of conversation over the whole world. About midnight he was so agitated with terror that he leaped from his bed. When the dreaded morning arrived, his fears increased until about eleven o'clock, which he imagined to be the hour that was doomed to terminate his existence. He then enquired of his attendants what the time was, and they wilfully deceived him by informing him that it was noon; upon which, believing that the fatal hour was passed, and all danger surmounted, he began with joyful alacrity to prepare for the customary refreshment of the day. Being informed by Parthenius, that some one had great and urgent intelligence to communicate to him, he retired into his chamber, where Stephanus presented to him an account of an alleged conspiracy. While he was perusing this with mingled fear and astonishment, Stephanus wounded him in the groin. Domitian boldly resisted the assailant, and commanded the boy who had the care of the Lares of the chamber to bring him a dagger, which was always placed under his pillow. Parthenius, however, had taken the precaution of removing the weapon, and closing all the entrances of the room. Although destitute of aid, Domitian threw Stephanus on the ground, and, struggling fiercely with him, endeavoured at

one time to wrest the sword from his hands, and, at another, to tear out his eyes. The contest, however, became too unequal; for he was attacked by gladiators, and other fresh antagonists, who dispatched him with seven wounds. Stephanus did not enjoy the success of his enterprise, but was killed by a sudden assault of some persons, who were not leagued with him in the conspiracy.

DOMITIAN,
15.
A. D. 96.

At the time of his assassination Domitian had nearly completed the forty-fifth year of his age, and had possessed the sovereign power fifteen years and five days. To those who have perused his actions, there is no need of an elaborate delineation of his character. In his early days, and under the controul of paternal discipline, he was both weak and vicious; and when he acquired absolute power, his unrestrained propensities hurried him into enormous excesses, which rendered him odious to all mankind. Instead of being honoured with the obsequies due to his imperial rank, his body was placed in a common bier, and received such humble funeral rites, as his nurse, Phyllis, was able to bestow upon it. This faithful domestic secretly introduced his remains into the temple of the Flavian family, mingling them with the ashes of Julia, the daughter of Titus, whom she had nursed, and whom he had made the object of his incestuous passion.

In his exterior Domitian was tall, and during his youth was by no means deficient in beauty and comeliness; but as he advanced in years, his appearance was much deteriorated by baldness, and by a disproportionate slenderness of his legs, and obesity of his abdomen. His eyes were large, and his sight rather dim; and, notwithstanding his shameless audacity, his countenance was modest,

Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 18, &c.

DOMITIAN,
15.
A. D. 96.

Tac. Vit. Agr.
45.
Mart. Ep. vii.
5.

and suffused with a ruddy appearance. With this (according to the ideas of Tacitus) he fortified himself against all shame, and it was a contrast to the wretched paleness of the citizens, who were incessantly overawed by his watchful tyranny. But Martial, with his usual obsequiousness, complains, that, during the expeditions of the emperor, the enemies of Rome were happier than the Romans; for the latter were deprived of his divine countenance, but the others enjoyed his looks, even while they were terrified by them! Domitian himself, confiding in the treacherous recommendation of his face, once declared to the senators, that hitherto they had certainly approved of his disposition and *countenance*. As he became disfigured with baldness, he was offended at hearing any allusion uttered against that defect, even in others. He addressed, however, a small treatise *upon the preservation of the hair* to one of his friends, assuring him, that he bore with equanimity the premature loss of his hair, because, as nothing was more pleasing than a graceful exterior, so nothing was more fragile.

From the beginning of his reign Domitian had neglected all literary pursuits, although he caused the libraries, which had been destroyed by fire, to be repaired at a great expense, and sent to Alexandria, and other places, to procure copies of such books as were to be deposited in them. He himself bestowed no time either upon history or poetry, and, in an age of general refinement and learning, restricted his reading to the commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar, from which he probably gathered nothing but examples of cruelty and dissimulation. His epistles, orations, and edicts, were composed by others, although it was not then reckoned

honourable for princes to shrink from the labour of arranging and expressing their own sentiments. In conversation, however, he could attain the polish of elegance, and sometimes the sprightliness of wit. "I wish" (he once remarked) "I was as handsome as Metius believes himself to be." On observing the hair of a person to present the mixed colours of yellow and gray, he compared it to snow sprinkled with mead. It was one of his reflections, that the lot of princes was much to be deplored, because any alleged conspiracy against them was not believed, unless it was fatal to them.

DOMITIAN,
15.
A. D. 96.

In his private habits he was dissolute and lewd. His leisure was consumed in the entertainment of the dice, from which he did not debar himself either on days allotted to business, or in the valuable hours of morning. It was his custom to bathe early, and to take so ample a dinner, that he would be content at supper with an apple, and a small quantity of wine. He often gave sumptuous banquets, but never prolonged them beyond sunset, nor indulged in revelry after the repast. Before he retired to rest, he walked privately and alone; and in general he was fond of solitude, in which he could contrive and meditate upon those acts of ferocity, which were most congenial to his disposition.

Dion relates it as a fact, which, however extraordinary, was by no means to be controverted*, that, at the very time Domitian was being assassinated, Apollonius of Tyana, who was haranguing the people at Ephesus, exclaimed: "Well done, Stephanus, strike the murderer; you have struck, you have wounded, you have slain him." Philostratus, who compiled the life of Apollonius, gives a similar

Dion. lxxvii.
Apoll. Vit.

* His language is exceedingly strong. He says, "It happened, although any one should deny it ten thousand times:" *ἐγένετο, καὶ ἂν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ.*

DOMITIAN,

15.

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account, although he does not state that the name of Stephanus was mentioned. The fact, thus attested, has probably received some degree of embellishment or exaggeration; but the principal circumstance may be credited by us, without having recourse to the supposition of any magical or demoniacal influence. The predictions which had been publicly uttered respecting the time of Domitian's death might have reached the ears of Apollonius; or, as he was disaffected to the emperor's government, he might have received some secret intelligence from the conspirators themselves. Vague hints or surmises, from whatever source they arose, might have been sufficient ground for bursting into the exclamation: "Strike the tyrant." He might calculate, that if his words were verified in the way which he expected, they would procure him the reputation of prophetic knowledge; and even if they were not corroborated by any occurrence, they would be ascribed by his hearers to the fervour of eloquence, the licence of figurative language, or his supposed skill in the arts of magic. But although we may believe thus much, it would be impossible to credit, except upon far stronger evidence* than Philostratus could pretend to advance, the many marvellous stories recorded of the philosopher and magician of Tyana. Apollonius came to Rome in the year 94 or 95, and was imprisoned by Domitian on suspicion of being privy to some plot for raising Nerva to the imperial power. But he was soon liberated, and escaped all further vengeance of the tyrant.

The age of Domitian, although calamitous in

* The life of Apollonius, written by Philostratus, was not composed until more than a century after the death of the philosopher. It was chiefly grounded upon some rough memoirs, left by Damis, a disciple and companion of Apollonius.

other respects, produced several eminent authors. Quintilian then wrote his *Institutions*, or books upon oratory, in which he has embodied the most judicious precepts for the cultivation of that art, which the ancients considered as a necessary part of a liberal education, but which the moderns seldom deign to pursue with systematic diligence. Poets of various degrees of merit graced the close of the first century of the Christian era. The works of Valerius Flaccus, P. Statius, and Silius Italicus, may, in many parts, be perused with satisfaction by those, who have leisure to pursue their classical reading beyond the more perfect poets of the Augustan age. The writings of Martial are more generally read, on account of those qualities with which all are captivated—sprightliness and wit; but the epigrammatist would have been better entitled to the respect of posterity, if he had not disfigured his works with so much base flattery of Domitian, and with so much gross obscenity. The satirist Juvenal is generally considered as one of the ornaments of the age of Domitian; and, according to some accounts, it was that prince who sent him into Egypt with the command of a cohort, in order to punish him for some offensive remarks respecting Paris, in his seventh satire. It seems more probable, however, that Juvenal was not condemned to this species of honourable exile before the time of Hadrian*. Whenever he flourished, he was a writer who, for keenness of satire, splendour of sentiment, and force of language, may be placed among the most admired of the Roman authors; but it is to be regretted, that while he stands forward as the censor of vice, he exposes scenes which ought never to have been

DOMITIAN,
15.
A. D. 93.
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* See Ruperti *De Juvenalis Vita*, prefixed to his edition of the Satires.

DOMITIAN,

15.

A. D. 98.



unveiled, and raises ideas from which the mind of the reader must (for the moment at least) receive contamination. The picture which he draws of Roman manners is darkened with the most gloomy colours. If his descriptions are not heightened by the bitterness and exaggerations of satire, the Romans of his age were infamous for corruption, venality, servility, luxury, lewdness, unnatural lust, and every vice that can degrade human nature.

THE EMPEROR NERVA.

CHAPTER I.

Different sentiments of the Romans upon the death of Domitian.—Nerva raised to the imperial power by the assistance of Parthenius and Petronius Secundus.—His birth and character.—Is differently congratulated by Arrius Antoninus and the other senators.—Instances of the virtuous government of Nerva, with some of the abuses arising from his lenity.—Virginus Rufus, being chosen Nerva's colleague in the consulship, meets with a fatal accident.—His eulogy.—Conspiracy of Crassus, and tumult of the prætorian guards, who demand the punishment of the assassins of Domitian.—Nerva adopts Trajan, and makes him his colleague in the imperial power.—Death of Nerva.

ALTHOUGH Domitian appears to have had several children, yet they all died young; and the Flavian dynasty, which had shone with so much good fortune in Vespasian, and so much virtue in Titus, was now ignominiously extinct. The intelligence of Domitian's death was received with different sentiments by the several classes at Rome. The people, long excluded from all interference in public affairs, heard of the event with calm indifference. The soldiers, who felt no concern about

NERVA,
1.
A. D. 96.
Suet. viii.
(Dom.) 23.
Dion. lxxviii.

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1.
A. D. 96.

the general vices of their emperor's character, as long as they were enriched by his schemes of prodigality and rapine, were greatly incensed at the news of his assassination. They wished instantly to enrol him among the gods; and, if they had found any leaders to encourage and direct their fury, they would have inflicted immediate vengeance upon the authors of his death. The senate, on the other hand, assembled with great alacrity to testify their joy at the death of a prince, whose rule had been so merciless and oppressive to them. Having indulged their anger in the most bitter invectives against his crimes, they ordered ladders to be brought, and his shields and images to be dashed to the ground. His statues of gold and silver were devoted to the furnace; his numerous triumphal arches were demolished; and a decree was passed, that his name should be erased from all the public works on which it was inscribed, and that the very memory of him (as far as possible) should be extinguished. The name, however, of the tyrant, who had abused so elevated a station in the civilized world, could not be obliterated from the pages of history, whose office it is to hold up the wicked to infamy and scorn, as well as to commend the deeds of the virtuous to the admiration of posterity.

Some of the Romans imagined, that presages had been given of the approach of a brighter period in their history; and certainly a most happy change commenced in their government, under the emperor M. Cocceius Nerva. He had excited the suspicion of Domitian, who, misled by a weak belief in astrology, used to study the horoscopes of the eminent citizens, and destroy

those to whom the stars seemed to portend the possession of the imperial power. Nerva, being reckoned in this unfortunate class, would have been put to death, if a benevolent astrologer had not protected him by assuring the tyrant, that he would die in a few days. Before the conspirators assassinated Domitian, they are said to have deliberated seriously upon the choice of his successor. The offer of the imperial power was made to several persons, who declined it as an insidious attempt to corrupt their allegiance; but Nerva was less scrupulous, knowing the danger to which his life was already exposed. Whether this account of Dion is authentic or not, it appears certain, that, after slaying Domitian, Petronius Secundus and Parthenius co-operated in raising Nerva to the imperial dignity.

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1.
A. D. 96.

Entrop. viii. 1.
Vict. Epit. 12.

He was born at Narnia, a town of Umbria; and his ancestors, although not enrolled among the most ancient and illustrious families of Rome, had acquired considerable celebrity. They had been honoured with the consulship for several generations, and Nerva himself had held that office both under Vespasian and Domitian. In private life he had been distinguished for his moderation and love of virtue; and being of an advanced age, when he arrived at the sovereignty, he was not deficient in the prudence suitable to his years. But time, which had matured his wisdom, had in an equal degree impaired his vigour, so that his strength was hardly competent to the labour of ruling a corrupt people and a licentious soldiery.

Aur. Vict.
(de Cæs.) 12.

After he had accepted of the sovereignty, a rumour was propagated, that Domitian was still

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1.

A. D. 96.

alive, and would soon inflict vengeance on his enemies; and Nerva was so alarmed, that his colour changed, his voice faltered, and he could scarcely stand. His fears, however, were dispelled by Parthenius; and when he had recovered his confidence, he performed the usual acts of courtesy and liberality, expected from a new emperor. On entering the senate, he was congratulated in general terms by its members; but Arrius Antoninus, the maternal grandfather of Antoninus Pius, expressed his sentiments with greater discrimination and freedom than the rest. Embracing Nerva, who was his intimate friend, he declared, that he congratulated the senate, the people, and the provinces, upon his elevation; but that he could not congratulate the emperor himself, who would have been more happy in repelling the machinations of evil princes, than in supporting the burdensome weight of supreme power. For in addition to many labours and perils, he would have to satisfy not only the clamours of enemies, but the demands of friends, who, presuming that their merit entitled them to every favour, would resent the denial of their claims with greater malignity than even open foes would cherish.

Dion. lxxviii.

The government of Nerva was regulated by the equity and moderation to be expected from his mature age and acknowledged virtue. He allowed many persons, who had been unjustly banished, to return to their country. He liberated those, who were under trial for alleged treason or disrespect to the prince, and would not permit any one in future to be accused either on that charge, or the charge of *Judaism*, under which term the profession of Christianity is supposed to have been included. Informers were rigorously punished by

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1.
A. D. 96.

him; and he put to death such slaves and freedmen as had plotted against their masters, and also revived the ancient law, that persons in their condition should not be suffered to make any accusation affecting their masters. He ordered (as Domitian had done before) that the custom of making eunuchs should cease, and he forbade any one to marry his own niece, which was a direct condemnation of the incestuous conduct of both Domitian and Claudius. In all his decrees he was guided by the counsel of the chief men of Rome; and, having publicly sworn that he would not put any senator to death, he observed his oath, notwithstanding the conspiracies which were formed against him. In opposition to the haughty example of Domitian, he would not permit any statues of gold or silver to be erected to him; and all the fruits of that tyrant's rapacity, which were found in the palace, were restored to those who had been despoiled of them. For Nerva, notwithstanding his age, was not addicted to avarice; but both cities and individuals experienced many proofs of his liberality. When his pecuniary resources began to fail, he did not resort to plunder and extortion, but generously sold a great part of his own and of the imperial furniture, with lands, houses, and almost every thing that was not of indispensable utility. To contract his expenditure within the narrowest limits possible, he abolished many sacrifices, races, and spectacles; and, according to some accounts, even the gladiatorial exhibitions were suppressed by him. Notwithstanding his exigencies, he scrupulously respected the rights of private property, as the following story will prove. A citizen of Athens, whose name was Atticus, had discovered a great treasure in his

Philost.
Soph. 27.

NERVA,
I.
A. D. 96.

house, and wrote to inform the emperor of his good fortune. Nerva, in reply, gave him permission to use it as he pleased; but Atticus, perplexed with various doubts, alleged, that it was too great for a person in his condition. Nerva, with equal good-nature and justice, silenced his scruples by assuring him, that he might either use or abuse it, for it was all his own.

These and other instances of Nerva's upright conduct are recorded; but, virtuous as his intentions were, the transition from a bad to a good government could not be suddenly effected without some excesses and abuses. As soon as he showed a desire to punish base informers, a scene of tumultuous litigation commenced, when every one wished to signalize his zeal by accusing others of a crime, known to be odious to the prince. So much injustice was hence committed, and so much confusion produced, that Fronto, the consul, ventured to remark, that, although it was unfortunate when the emperor allowed just liberty to no one, it was more unfortunate when he gave unbounded licence to all. The lenity of Nerva was no less freely reprehended by Junius Mauricus, the brother of Rusticus, and a man of great firmness of character. He was supping with Nerva, when Veiento, a person of consular rank, who had disgraced himself by the office of an insidious accuser under Domitian, was reclining next to the emperor. The conduct of Catullus Messalinus, whose blindness had not prevented him from being a sanguinary minister of Domitian's cruelty, became the topic of conversation. When all present inveighed against his atrocious crimes, Nerva artlessly exclaimed, "What would he have suffered, if he had now been alive?" Mauricus (probably fixing

Plin. Ep. iv.
92.
Vict. Epit. 12.

his eyes upon Veiento) answered: *He would be supping with us.* Veiento and Catullus are placed in the same class by Juvenal, and both satirized as the despicable flatterers of Domitian*.

NERVA,
1, 2.
A. D. 97.

When the new year arrived, Nerva assumed the consulship, and took for his colleague Virginius Rufus, who, after the death of Nero, had several times refused the imperial power, when offered him by the soldiers. This illustrious citizen was now in the eighty-third year of his age, and was free from all malady, except a tremor of the hands, which, however, was not attended with any pain. As he was preparing to return thanks to Nerva for the honour of the consulship, a weighty volume, which he was holding, overpowered his feeble grasp, and fell to the ground. In attempting to raise it, he slipped on the smooth pavement, and broke his ribs; and this accident, inflicted on so debilitated a frame, terminated his existence. The merited applause of both prince and people concurred in bestowing upon him the honours of a public funeral; and the inscription on his tomb declared, that, having conquered Vindex, he did not claim the sovereignty for himself, but for his country. His panegyric was pronounced by Tacitus, the celebrated historian, who possessed not only judgment to appreciate, but eloquence to extol, his disinterested virtue. Virginius had enjoyed for nearly thirty years the singular renown of having declined the supreme power, of which others deemed him worthy; and, according to the sentiments of Pliny (whose affectionate guardian he was) he had lived among his descendants, reading the poems and the histories which were written in his commendation. Having refused the

Dion. lxxviii.
Plin. Ep. ii. 1.

* Et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo, &c.—Sat. iv. 113.

NERVA,
1, 2.
A. D. 97.

imperial dignity, he was thrice nominated to the consulship, the highest honour which could be bestowed on a private citizen. He had the good fortune to live without injury or molestation, even under emperors who were envious of his glory; and his last days were solaced with the veneration of the people, and the protection of a prince, who was too magnanimous to obstruct the just fame of his virtues.

Dion. lxxviii.
Vict. Epit. 12.

Nerva was so convinced of his own upright intentions, that he did not scruple to protest, that he had done nothing which ought to prevent him from abdicating the supreme power, and living as a private individual. But a knowledge of human nature would have informed him, that the most perfect innocence cannot afford an inviolable safeguard against the attacks of the envious and revengeful. Calpurnius Crassus, descended from the ancient family of the Crassi, endeavoured to corrupt the soldiers by liberal promises, and to form a conspiracy against him. When the discovery of the plot was followed by the confession of Crassus, he was removed with his wife to Tarentum; although the senators considered that this lenity of their prince exceeded the bounds of discretion. A violent tumult was afterwards excited by the prætorian guards, who, being attached to the memory of Domitian, cherished a deep resentment against the authors of his death. Their præfect, Ælianus Casperius, having acceded to their designs, they commenced an open sedition, and resolutely demanded, that the assassins of Domitian should be surrendered to their vengeance. Nerva, possessing more firmness of mind than body*,

* Tantum consternatus est, ut neque vomitum, neque impetum ventris valeret differre.—Vict. Epit. 12.

endeavoured to resist their fury: he offered his bare neck to their swords, and declared, that he would rather perish, than see the imperial authority wantonly infringed, and betray those who had invested him with it. Disregarding their aged emperor, the soldiers killed the marked objects of their rage. Petronius Secundus was dispatched by a single blow; and Parthenius had his throat cut, after suffering a disgraceful mutilation of his body. Elated by his sanguinary success, Ælianus compelled the emperor to return thanks to the soldiers, for having inflicted justice upon the most guilty of all offenders.

NERVA,
1, 2.
A. D. 97.

This daring act of insubordination convinced Nerva, that the empire required a younger and more vigorous ruler than himself, in order to command the respect, and check the designs, of the contumacious. Instead of attempting to sustain by his own strength that weight of power, for which age, rather than any bodily infirmity, had rendered him unequal, he resolved to adopt a colleague in the imperial duties. Although he was not destitute of relations, yet he considered, that a regard to the welfare of his country, rather than the predilections of consanguinity, ought to determine his choice. The person that appeared most worthy of his deliberate selection, was M. Ulpian Trajanus, who was then invested with the command of the Roman forces in Lower Germany. A wreath of laurel, the emblem of victory, had been brought from Pannonia; and Nerva, having ascended the Capitol to present the offering to Jupiter, convened an assembly of the Romans in that august seat of their gods, and solemnly informed them, that he adopted Trajan as his son and successor. He afterwards bestowed upon him the titles of *Cæsar*

Plin. Paneg.

NERVA,
1, 2.
A. D. 97.

and *Germanicus*, and, not restricting his favour to honorary appellations, made him his colleague in the tribunician power, and in all the imperial functions. This sudden accession of grandeur, which Trajan had in no way solicited, was announced to him in Germany; and he was admonished in a letter written by the emperor's own hand *, that Nerva confided to him the revenge of those insults which he had suffered.

NERVA,
2.
A. D. 98.

As soon as Trajan was acknowledged as the associate of the imperial dignity, all the attempts of the seditious were suppressed, and their clamours silenced. Nerva, who was of a feeble constitution, and frequently unable to retain his food upon his stomach, was seized with a fatal illness; as if, after the adoption of Trajan, there was no other benefit which his wisdom could bestow upon the Roman empire. Having declaimed with greater vehemence, than suited his age, against a person named Regulus, he fell into a perspiration, which was followed by a shivering and fever, that terminated his life. He is supposed to have died on the 21st or 27th of January, having exercised the sovereign power with great clemency for the short period of sixteen months and a few days. Ancient historians vary respecting his age; for while one places it at sixty-three, another states it to have been sixty-five, and another seventy-one. His remains were deposited in the tomb of Augustus; and every day increased the veneration of the Romans for a prince, who had not only ruled them with mildness himself, but had provided for their future happiness by the adoption of a most virtuous successor.

* Nerva is said to have conveyed his sentiments in the following line of Homer.

Τίσμιαν Δαναοὶ ἰμὲν δάκρυα σοῖσι βύλισσιν.—11. i. 42.

THE EMPEROR TRAJAN.

CHAPTER I.

Origin and military exploits of Trajan.—His extraordinary elevation.—His age and exterior.—Conducts himself with great modesty after his adoption, and assumes the imperial power at Cologne.—Declines the consulship, and enters Rome on foot.—Takes, among other titles, that of Optimus.—Is candidate for the consulship, and as consul submits to the same oaths as others.—Restores the freedom of discussion in the Senate.—His injunction to the prætorian præfect, and prayer to the gods.—Pliny pronounces his panegyric of Trajan, in which he describes his military qualities, his bounty, and care for the education of children.—His attention to the supply of provisions.—His severity to public informers.—His reduction of the duty on legacies.—His disinterestedness respecting wills.—His favour to men of virtue and learning.—His facility of access.—His moderation respecting his palaces, and the honours which were paid to him.—His friendships.—His controul over his freedmen and procurators.—The virtues of his wife and sister.—His amusements.—Remarks on Pliny's Panegyric.

THE imperial power, which had passed from the Cæsars to other families, was now transferred from the inhabitants of Italy to those of the provinces.

TRAJAN,
1.
A. D. 98.
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TRAJAN,
 1.
 A. D. 98.
 —————
 Eutrop. viii. 2.
 Dion. lxxviii.
 Aur. Vict. 13.
 Vict. Epit. 13.
 Plin. Paneg.

Italica, in the south of Spain, and near the country of Seneca and Lucan, claimed the honour of being the birth-place of the emperor Trajan. Although he was descended from an ancient family, yet his ancestors were not eminent for enjoying the dignities of the state. His father was the first of them who obtained the consulship; he was also invested with the triumphal honours; and he is supposed to be the officer mentioned by Josephus, as having the command of the tenth legion in the Jewish war. The military exploits of the parent opened a path of distinction for the son. Trajan in his earliest youth acquired glory for himself, and augmented the renown of his father, by marching against the Parthians, whose ferocity was checked by the mere fame of his approach. The country from the Rhine to the Euphrates resounded with his praises; and while he hurried his legions over desolate and mountainous provinces, he disdained to use either carriage or horse, but performed the most painful marches on foot. The commotions in Germany constrained Domitian, although meanly jealous of the reputation of others, to employ the warlike talents of Trajan in that country. For by ten years' service in the rank of a tribune, Trajan had acquired a complete knowledge of the duties of a camp, and that military science which qualified him to take the command of powerful armies. In the year 91, he was made consul with Acilius Glabrio; and Dion relates, that the same prodigies portended that Trajan would be emperor, and his colleague put to death. The superstitious historian has not informed us of the nature of these prodigies, which were verified according to the construction put upon them; but he affirms in another passage, that Trajan, when a private individual, had a

dream, in which an aged man, arrayed in a purple dress, and adorned with a crown (like the emblematical representations of the senate) appeared to mark him with a signet, first on the left, and then on the right side of the throat.

TRAJAN,
I.
A. D. 98.

It was an extraordinary crisis which elevated Trajan to the imperial dignity. While the empire seemed to be reposing under the gentle sway of Nerva, the rebellious conduct of his guards convinced him of the perils which hourly threatened both his authority and life. That he should endeavour to protect his own feebleness by the strength and dignity of some acknowledged successor, was an act of prudence which the example of former emperors might have suggested to him ; but that he should discern, amidst so many candidates, the most fit object for his choice, and that he should preserve his mind uninfluenced by the bias of his own predilections, and the interested solicitations of others, was a rare instance of penetration and firmness. In the opinion of Pliny, it would appear almost incredible to posterity, that Trajan (whose father was a man of patrician and consular rank, and had enjoyed the triumphal honours) at the very time when he was commanding a large and powerful army, which was warmly attached to him, should have been declared emperor, and yet not by the voice of his soldiers ; that, while at the head of his troops in Germany, he should receive the title of *Germanicus* from Rome ; that he had never contemplated the design of making himself emperor ; and that his only title to the sovereign power was his pre-eminent merit.

At the time of his adoption by Nerva, he is supposed to have been about forty-two years old, having attained that middle stage of life, when

TRAJAN,
I.
A. D. 98.

neither the precipitation of youth nor the feebleness of age would disqualify him for the arduous duties of government. His body was both strong and tall; his countenance was dignified; and his hair, prematurely grey, gave him a venerable appearance, not unsuited to the title of *Father of his country*. The profusion with which it grew was, probably, the cause of his receiving the appellation of *Crinitus*.

When he received the unexpected intelligence that Nerva had spontaneously nominated him as his successor, he would have declined the extraordinary honour, if allegiance to his prince, and a regard to the critical situation of the empire, had not constrained him to accept it. After he was invested with the titles of the imperial dignity, his modesty, activity, and vigilance, were no less conspicuous than before his adoption. As Nerva's son he assumed no additional right, except that of paying him filial respect and obedience. His prayers were offered for the long life and glory of his parent, and, instead of being impelled by an ungrateful eagerness to usurp his power, he would willingly have grown old in the subordinate duties of one of his generals. Upon the sudden death of Nerva, he assumed the imperial authority at Cologne. There was no competitor who ventured to dispute his claims; and as he was aware of the unanimity of the senate and people in his favour, he remained for some time on the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. He wrote with his own hand an epistle to the senate, assuring them of his resolution never to kill nor disgrace any virtuous man; and he confirmed his declaration with oaths, both on that and on subsequent occasions. Mindful of the injunctions of the deceased emperor, he

sent for Ælianus, and the other guards, who had been foremost in the sedition against him, and despatched them by some means which have not been particularly recorded.

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1.
A. D. 98.

Trajan was holding his second consulship when Nerva died; and if he had followed the example of preceding emperors, he would have assumed the office in the subsequent year, as the privilege of his imperial rank. He modestly, however, conceded it to others, especially as he was absent from Rome; and, after the conduct of Domitian, who had enviously appropriated to himself so many consulships, it seemed some evidence of the recovery of civil freedom, that the consular honours were in other hands than those of the prince. Trajan, having performed his journey through the provinces with such order and frugality, as were strikingly contrasted with the violence and profusion that marked the travels of Domitian, entered Rome on foot. Other emperors had either been carried into their capital in chariots drawn by white steeds, or borne into it upon the shoulders of the people; but Trajan seemed desirous to exhibit a triumph, not over the submissive feelings of the Romans, but over the pride of imperial power. Graciously saluting all ranks, he trusted himself amidst the dense crowds that thronged to see him, and without any formal retinue ascended the Capitol, where vows were made, and sacrifices offered, for his safety. He afterwards retired to the palace with the unassuming demeanour of a private individual. His wife, Pompeia Plotina, as she was ascending the steps of the imperial residence, turned to the multitude and declared: "Such as I enter these walls, such I desire to leave them." The pledge of her virtuous resolutions,

TRAJAN,
2.
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TRAJAN,
2.
A. D. 98.

which she thus offered to the Romans, was not falsified by her subsequent conduct.

Trajan, having gained the imperial power, could easily have received, from the experienced adulation of the Romans, all the honorary titles appended to it, even if he had not deserved them. He refused for some time the appellation of *Father of his country*; but his modesty was at length overcome by the importunity of the citizens. Gratitude, or flattery, devised a new title for him, and distinguished him by the epithet of *Optimus*. If this had been given him by the suffrages of posterity, or when a long and arduous trial of his virtues had established his claim to it, it would have been the most glorious title that a prince could receive from a devoted people. But, unfortunately, it was bestowed with premature obsequiousness, before the merits of his government were fully ascertained, and before the dangerous ordeal of prosperity could elicit any latent vices of his nature. Experience had not yet proved, that Trajan deserved the epithet, which was to exalt him above all who preceded, or followed, him in the enjoyment of the imperial power*.

After his arrival at Rome he could allege no reasonable plea for declining the consulship; but the manner in which he accepted it was a proof of his modesty, and respect for the laws. Preceding emperors, from indolence, from pride, or even fear, had absented themselves from the assemblies, in which the ceremony of electing them to the consulship was performed. But Trajan condescended

* The same folly, which invents high titles, destroys their importance by the promiscuous use of them. *Excellency*, which was devised for the best of emperors, is now given to the worst of ambassadors; *Lord*, which was too tyrannical for Augustus, is bestowed upon a puling child; and *Worshipful* is prefixed to the style of a company of bakers, &c.

to appear in the *Campus Martius*, patiently submitted to all the tedious forms, and was returned in the same way as if he had been the most humble candidate. When the citizens were about to disperse, they were astonished to see him approach to the seat of the consul, and offer to take the oath prescribed for ordinary candidates, but from which princes had considered themselves exempted by their prerogative. Although invested with the arbitrary power attached to the titles of Emperor, Augustus, and Supreme Pontiff, he stood before the consul (who calmly retained his seat) and pronounced the oath, in which he invoked the anger of the gods upon himself and family, in case he was guilty of wilful falsehood.

TRAJAN,
2.
A. D. 99.

In entering upon the duties of the consulship, he ascended the *Rostra*, as if he had been no more than a private individual, and solemnly declared, that he would be obedient to the laws. The remark of Pliny upon this occasion (unless we are to consider it as an hyperbole of rhetorical flattery) is a proof, that the Romans of that age possessed very abject sentiments of liberty; for he observes, that he was then aware for the first time, that the prince was not superior to the laws, but the laws to the prince. In relinquishing the consular office, Trajan took the usual oath, that he had done nothing in violation of the laws; and this modesty, in claiming no privileges above the other magistrates, was favourably compared with the arrogance of former emperors, who, after holding the consulship for a few days, resigned it by edict, while their possession of office was scarcely known to the citizens, except by seeing others excluded from it.

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.
Plin. Paneg.

On the first day that he appeared before the senators in his consular dignity, he exhorted them all

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.



to resume their liberty, to watch over the public welfare, and to take a share in the common labour of governing the empire. Similar invitations had been given by other emperors, but had been fatal to many of those who confided in them with credulous simplicity. Trajan's exhortations were believed to be sincere, both on account of the natural earnestness with which they were uttered, and their apt correspondence to other parts of his conduct. By his encouragement, the just functions of the senatorian order began to be restored. Under Domitian and other tyrants, none of the senators dared to open their mouths, excepting him who was first desired to give his opinion. This opinion, dictated by a servile acquiescence in the wishes of the prince, was timidly and silently adopted by all the rest; and the vote, which had the public sanction of the whole senate, was often repugnant to the real sentiments of every one of its members. But under Trajan they began to debate with greater freedom; they were not afraid to avow their own sentiments, or to oppose those of others; and the opinion of the first speaker was not followed, if a wiser one was afterwards propounded.

When Trajan presented to the prætorian præfect the sword which was to be worn as the mark of authority, he commanded that officer to use it in his defence, if he governed well, but to turn it against him, if he failed in his duty. Although this injunction implied a serious resolution on the part of Trajan to merit the approbation of the Romans by a course of undeviating justice, yet it may be questioned, whether it was sound wisdom to commit such indefinite power to one of his officers, who was thus encouraged to consider himself abso-

lute judge of all his actions, and who might interpret the suggestions of his own caprice, or anger, into a desire of strictly complying with the commands of his sovereign. Trajan gave a greater proof of his wisdom, if not of his sincerity, when, in the usual vows which were offered for the safety of the prince, he wished this clause to be inserted: "If he governs the state faithfully, and consults the welfare of all." He connected his own preservation with the general happiness of the Romans; and (as Pliny observes) did not implore the protection of the gods, unless they, who were the best judges of his conduct, should decide that he was worthy of it.

Trajan, following the example of his predecessors, did not retain the consulship during the whole of the year; and one of those who were appointed to hold it in the month of September, was Pliny the younger. This elegant writer, in entering upon his office, pronounced that elaborate *Panegyric*, which has transmitted to posterity the principal features of the character of Trajan; and, from this work, we shall endeavour to finish the portraiture of the emperor which we have already begun.

Trajan rendered himself eminent for military qualities, at a time when martial skill and discipline were visibly declining, and able generals were not to be found (as formerly) in every legion which Rome had enlisted in her service. In an age when war was beginning to be a pompous exhibition, rather than a severe labour, he attempted to rival the ancient commanders in supporting hunger and thirst, in being content with the meanest fare, and by aiming in all military exercises at the distinction of being more hardy and coura-

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.



geous than any of his soldiers. It was his custom not to retire to his tent, until he had visited the quarters of his men, and he was the last person in the camp who resigned himself to sleep. The indolent and contumacious spirit which prevailed in the armies was banished by his strict but generous discipline. Too magnanimous to envy or to fear his officers, he encouraged them in a faithful discharge of their duties, and procured them the homage of the soldiers by the respect which he himself paid to their virtues. His authority over his troops, though firm, was not harsh. He had served with them so long, that he could address many of them by their names, and was familiar with their exploits, to which he cheerfully granted the tribute of his commendation. He was prompt to relieve them under the pressure of sickness or fatigue; and they knew that the general, who exacted from them the full measure of martial duty, was ready to assist them with all the frank condescension of a comrade.

Thus skilful in the government of his own armies, he was justly an object of terror to those of foreign nations. The fierce people, by whom the empire was surrounded, had been taught by experience to deride the impotent attacks of Domitian, and, instead of submitting to the dictation of the Romans, had begun to treat the conquerors of the world upon equal terms, and even to think of imposing laws upon them. But, under Trajan, the majesty of Rome was again respected and feared. When he appeared upon the banks of the Danube, the barbarians upon the opposite side confined themselves within their territories, and no longer indulged in their daring excursions. The season of winter, which was their period of triumph, when

they were accustomed to transport their armies over the ice, and harass the affrighted Romans, now passed without any hostile movements. Trajan (it is said) might have assured himself of victory, if he had crossed the river; but the valour, that made him formidable to his enemies, was restrained by his moderation, which would not allow him to engage in a needless and unprovoked contest.

TRAJAN,
^{3.}
 A. D. 100.

A largess to the soldiers was an act of bounty expected from every new emperor. When Trajan had given them a moiety of the expected sum, he thought that the other part might be deferred, until the people had received some mark of his liberality. Instead of seeking excuses for restricting his donative, he allowed persons of all descriptions to partake of it, not excluding children, nor those who were absent through sickness or any avocation. Besides this temporary relief, he caused nearly five thousand children of free parents to be supported at the public expense, and trained in such a way, that the country, which fostered them, might hereafter reap the benefit of their services in war or peace. This plan of benevolence appears to have been extended by him beyond the precincts of Rome; for Dion relates, that he gave great sums to the cities of Italy for the education of children, and conferred other benefits upon the youthful objects of his care. Rome, although the mistress of the civilized world, had not yet arrived at the point, which modern theorists have discovered, when the redundance of population becomes an oppressive evil to a state. It had been deemed necessary to discourage celibacy, and to offer privileges to the rich in reward for the labour of supporting families. The poor relied principally upon the donatives of the emperor to assist them

TRAJAN,
 S.
 A. D. 100.

in educating children; and if his character was such, that acts of tyranny, rather than of mercy, were to be expected from him, there was little hope that they would rear offspring to be the victims of his neglect or oppression. Trajan, by offering protection and showing benevolence to all classes of people, created the strongest incentive for producing an increase of population. He claims, also, the merit of encouraging education, not merely by casual gifts, but by systematic bounty; and although a heathen prince, he may assume a high place among those, who in Christian ages have promoted the most extensive schemes for the melioration of their species. If he had not been preceded by a rapacious tyrant, it would not have been necessary to record to his honour, that the sums which he distributed were his own, and that he did not plunder one part of the citizens that he might show unjust liberality to another.

Plin. Paneg.

Rome, in the height of her power, was often unable to command that abundance of provisions which the wants of her citizens required. Pompey, by attending to the supplies of her markets, had gained as much renown, as by his maritime achievements, and his victories in the East and West. A similar fame was the reward of Trajan, whose authority had so tranquillized and united the empire, that the produce of each portion of it was easily available for the service of the whole. The fertility of Egypt had been reckoned almost an indispensable resource for the inhabitants of Rome; but when that province was afflicted with a severe drought, occasioned by a failure of the inundation of the Nile, Trajan instantly supplied it with corn, and demonstrated (according to the language of his panegyrist) that Egypt was not so necessary to the Romans, as the Romans to Egypt.

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.



The race of public informers had been so much encouraged by the avarice and jealousy of Domitian, that, even in seasons of amusement, the Romans were not secure from their hateful machinations. Persons who ventured to dislike the gladiators whom that tyrant admired, were accused not only of treason, but impiety ; for, by inferences incredibly absurd, he deemed himself the same as the gods, and the gladiators the same as himself. It was gratifying, therefore, to the Romans, to see informers not merely discountenanced by Trajan, but even punished as criminals. Being placed on board some vessels, they were committed to the fury of the winds and waves, and compelled to take refuge in those rocky islands, to which so many innocent persons had been condemned on account of their vexatious prosecutions. Although both Titus and Nerva had been rigorous in their enactments against informers, yet Trajan endeavoured to restrain their oppressive power by laws still more numerous and severe.

The duty of one-twentieth upon all inheritances (which had been formerly established by Augustus) appeared to fall with unjust weight upon those who were allied to the testator by the closest ties of consanguinity. Nerva, therefore, ordered it to be repealed on property bequeathed by mothers to their children, or by children to their mothers ; sons also, in general, were not to pay it on the estates of their fathers. Trajan extended the indulgence, allowing it to fathers on the death of their sons, and also to brothers and sisters, and to grand-parents and grand-children, mutually. Property of small amount was to be altogether exempt from the duty.

The fear and adulation of the Romans had reduced them to such baseness, that they often over-

TRAJAN,
 3.
 A. D. 100.

looked the claims of their relatives and friends, and nominated the emperor their heir; and in proportion to the despotism of his character, he had a greater chance of obtaining this unjust privilege. Pliny records it to the honour of Trajan, that the citizens were free and unintimidated in the execution of their wills; neither injustice on his part, nor on the part of others, brought him into possession of numerous legacies; but those which fell to him, were the spontaneous offerings of admiration and regard.

Trajan, who had witnessed in private life the jealous hatred with which Domitian had pursued the virtuous, resolved that, on the contrary, his favours should descend upon those citizens who were distinguished by their merit. The good were not merely permitted to live in security; but, as he admired their firm and upright spirit, he elevated them to honours, investing them with priesthoods, bestowing provinces upon them, and admitting them to his friendship. Men of literature, and especially rhetoricians and philosophers, were encouraged by his patronage; and the Romans, in devoting themselves to learning, were not afraid, that their studies would be offensive to the narrow and malignant disposition of their prince.

Facility of access was another of Trajan's virtues. Nerva had styled the palace a *public* edifice, and Trajan lived in it, as if he himself had given it that appellation. The temples, and even the forum and the Capitol, were not more open to the citizens, than was the residence of their emperor. He allotted a considerable portion of the day to interviews, endeavouring to banish from them all slavish fear and irksome restraint. His visitors came when it was convenient to them (their absence being readily

excused when necessary on account of business) and, instead of departing after a hasty salutation, were tempted to remain in the company of their prince. His banquets were not so attractive for luxury and splendour, as for the courteous welcome, and easy hilarity, that enlivened his guests. In the time of Domitian few ever entered the palace without trepidation and anxiety; and at his feasts he observed his guests with the vigilance of a spy, rather than entertained them with the hospitality of a prince. For he himself used to satisfy his appetite with an early repast, before their arrival, and, after casting his luxuries to them in a disdainful manner, was impatient to return to the more congenial pleasures which a guilty privacy could bestow.

Trajan is commended for his moderation respecting his palaces, gardens and villas. Vicious emperors had appropriated to their own use nearly all the mansions remarkable for grandeur of structure, or pleasantness of situation; and if they could not occupy them themselves, they placed their slaves in them, or suffered them to fall into ruin. Trajan, on the contrary, desired that these desolate mansions should be repaired, and inhabited by persons of suitable rank; and he either allowed the citizens an opportunity of purchasing them, or bestowed them upon his friends. The statues that were erected to him were equal proofs of his moderation. Two or three monuments of that nature, and those made of brass, were all that were seen in the vestibule of the Capitol. The same spot, a short time previous, glittered with a profusion of gold and silver statues, that were designed to perpetuate the fame of Domitian; but these were soon selected as objects on which his adversaries might display all the fury of implacable

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.

hatred. And not only in his statues, but in every other species of honour, Trajan checked the spirit of fulsome adulation into which the Romans had degenerated. On all occasions of business, or pleasure, it had become usual to reiterate the praises of the emperor: these were made the unceasing subject of song, dance, and debate. However trivial the topic might be, on which the senators were called to deliberate—if it related only to an increase of gladiators, or to a company of workmen—it was expected, that the principal speaker should expatiate upon the glory of the emperor, and that some new honour should be decreed to him, as if he had just performed an extraordinary achievement. But under Trajan these irrelevant digressions, so derogatory to the dignity of the senate, were forborne: the discussion was confined to the point at issue, and the honours that were voted to the emperor were neither unseasonable nor exorbitant.

The majesty of supreme power is not favourable to the exercise of friendship, which requires an equal exchange of affection, and a nearly equal reciprocation of acts of kindness. Trajan, however, is said to have possessed so much generosity of sentiment, and so much facility in foregoing the pretensions of imperial dignity, that he was not surrounded merely by courtiers and parasites, but could regard some few with all the confidence of sincere friendship. He had selected a person, to whom he was warmly attached, for the office of prætorian præfect; but his friend, so far from coveting the post, soon began to express his aversion to it, and solicited Trajan to dispense with his services, and to indulge him in his love of retirement. The emperor consented to thwart his own wishes, rather than those of his friend; after giving

him ample proofs of his liberality, he accompanied him to the sea-shore, and took leave of him with tears, and with earnest hopes, that he would soon be induced to return. He was too magnanimous to exact duties from a friend, when he found that they could not be performed without reluctance and constraint.

TRAJAN,
S.
A. D. 100.

As he was amiable enough to contract friendships with the virtuous and the noble, he was not constrained to be too intimate with his freedmen, and too subservient to their wills. An emperor's freedman had often been a more powerful personage than the emperor himself: guarding all the modes of access to his master, and dexterously watching his moments of weakness, he had been able to guide his counsels, and to distribute the highest honours and the most important offices. Trajan required of his freedmen, that they should be upright and frugal, and wished their dignity to be estimated by the station which they actually filled, and not by the lustre which he reflected upon them. His procurators, also, or those who managed his private revenue, were men of strict and approved integrity; and there could be little doubt that justice was impartially administered, as it sometimes happened that the suits, in which his agents were concerned, terminated in their defeat. Pliny relates, in one of his epistles, that when some heirs appeared to be afraid of persevering in a cause, in which they were opposed by Eurythmus, the freedman and procurator of the emperor, Trajan reproved their irresolution by exclaiming, "I am not Nero, nor is my freedman Polycletus." Plin. Ep. vi.
31.

The family of Trajan consisted only of his wife, Pompeia Plotina, and his sister Marciana, both of

TRAJAN,
3.
A. D. 100.



whom, by their exemplary conduct, augmented his domestic happiness and glory. Plotina is extolled for the gravity of her demeanour, the modesty of her dress, and the unostentatious manner in which she appeared in public. Between her and Marciana there existed the closest union of affection, tastes, and sentiments; the rivalry of narrow-minded jealousy was unknown to them; and they concurred with each other in showing the most unbounded love and veneration for their exalted relative. The senate offered to each the title of *Augusta*, which they at first declined; but it is probable, that they accepted it soon afterwards.

The amusements by which Trajan sought to alleviate either the cares of government, or the fatigues of war, were generally of an active and manly nature. To contend with the speed, the ferocity, and the cunning of various kinds of animals, was reckoned by the ancient Romans as the best preparation for martial duties; and in such sports Trajan delighted. Nor did he, like some of his more inactive predecessors, enter the combat with tame beasts, let loose for the purpose of diversion; but he penetrated the depths of forests, and ascended high and rugged mountains, in order to rouse the fiercest animals from their dens. If he embarked on the sea for recreation, he was not towed along, in dismal silence, like the terrified Domitian, but he exerted himself as much as the busiest of the crew, either at the helm or the oar. Pliny remarks, that the display of bodily strength and activity was not in itself a topic for high commendation; but when it was observed, that Trajan united mental with corporeal vigour, and that he was not to be corrupted by the indolence and luxury to which his station invited him,

then even his bodily qualifications might be justly admired.

TRAJAN,
S.
A. D. 100.

Such are the principal virtues that were exhibited in the character of Trajan, during the first years that he exercised the imperial power. As he was fortunate in obtaining so learned and dexterous a panegyrist as Pliny; so Pliny was still more fortunate in not being compelled to prostitute his genius, and sacrifice the sincerity of truth, to the commendation of a vicious or contemptible prince. His eulogy of Trajan, though highly decorated with the ornaments of eloquence, does not exceed those limits of partiality, which the privilege of panegyric necessarily claims. He afterwards enlarged the work, and, according to a custom which was necessary before printing existed, invited his friends to attend his recitation of it. When they had granted him their company for two days, his modesty urged him to bring the performance to a close; but the gratification they had received, or the courtesy they were bound to express, induced him to prolong it to a third day. From this circumstance, those who have not read the Panegyric may form an opinion of its length. Certainly it is a valuable document among the scanty and confused materials which we possess for compiling the life of Trajan; yet the expression of unvarying praise becomes wearisome, and it may be doubted whether many readers have imitated the condescension of Pliny's friends, in wishing the production to be any longer.

Plin. Ep. iii.
18.

CHAPTER II.

Trajan accepts a fourth consulship, and resolves to commence war with the Dacians.—Having defeated Decebalus, and compelled him to accept terms of peace, he triumphs, and assumes the title of Dacicus.—Recalls the pantomimic dancers, whom he had formerly banished.—His great friendship for, and confidence in, Licinius Sura.—Requested to enforce the laws, by which advocates were forbidden to accept unlimited sums of money from their clients.—Restrains the corrupt practices of candidates for office.—Constructs a harbour at Centumcellæ, (now Civita Vecchia,) and at Ancona.—Nicomedia visited by a conflagration, and the remains of Nero's golden palace at Rome burnt.—Decebalus renews the war with Trajan.—Fails in his attempt to assassinate him.—Treacherously detains the Roman general Longinus, who poisons himself.—Trajan constructs a bridge over the Danube.—Decebalus kills himself.—Dacia becomes a Roman province.—Zalmoxis, the god of the Dacians, or Getæ.—Trajan settles colonies in Dacia; and builds several cities.—Arabia Petræa conquered.—Various actions of Trajan.—He marches into the East.—Armenia submits to him.—The diadem refused to Parthamasiris.—Capture of several cities in Mesopotamia.

TRAJAN,
4.
A. D. 101.

TRAJAN, in compliance with the request of the senators, accepted of the consulship for the fourth time.

Accustomed to military enterprises, and familiar with victory, he could not reflect, without indignation, upon the disgrace which the Roman name had suffered under Domitian, on account of the ignominious tribute which he had consented to pay to the Dacians; and when he was informed of the arrogance of these barbarians, and the augmentation of their forces, he resolved to place himself at the head of his legions, and invade their territory. As he approached Tapæ, where the Dacians were encamped, he received the discouraging intimation*, that it was the opinion of the Buri, and others of his allies, that he had better retreat, and negotiate a peace with his enemies. Despising this timid suggestion, he came to an engagement, the result of which was sanguinary on both sides. When there was a want of bandages to bind up the wounds of his soldiers, he is said to have surrendered part of his dress to supply the deficiency: he also ordered an altar to be erected to the memory of those who fell in battle, and funeral rites to be performed there annually.

TRAJAN,

4.

A. D. 101.

Plin. Paneg.

Dion. lxxviii.

The mountainous posts, wherein the Dacians had fortified themselves, did not terrify Trajan, but he captured them successively, until he approached Zermizegethusa, the chief city of the country: in other directions, his generals were equally victorious. Decebalus, the Dacian chief, convinced that he had to contend with a very different adversary from Domitian, had before sent ambassadors to Trajan, who solicited him to grant an interview to their prince, or at least to send delegates, who might arrange the terms of peace. Trajan sent two of his officers, whom the Dacian, actuated by fear or insincerity, did not admit into his presence.

* Written (according to Dion) on a large mushroom—*μύκης μέγας*.

TRAJAN,
4.
A. D. 101.

When, however, he found that so many of his towns and forts were in the hands of his enemies, and that his sister was in the number of the captives, he considered that submission was inevitable, and promised to accede to the terms that should be imposed upon him. He was required to give up his stores of arms and military engines, to restore all deserters, to destroy his fortifications and surrender part of his territory, to treat the enemies and allies of the Romans as his own, and to desist from enticing into his service any of the subjects of the Roman empire. Having reluctantly yielded to these stipulations, he prostrated himself on the ground, and paid homage to Trajan. His ambassadors were sent to Rome, and being admitted into the senate, under the humiliating appearance of captives and suppliants, received the ratification of the peace. Trajan, having stationed garrisons in Zermizegethusa and other places, returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a triumph, and took the title of *Dacicus*.

After his victories, Trajan not only entertained the people with combats of gladiators, but also recalled the pantomimic dancers, whose fate had frequently varied during the past years. Domitian, in opposition to the wishes of the people, had forbidden their performance; and Nerva had yielded to the solicitations made for their restoration. Trajan, being as earnestly requested to banish them, consented; and it was extolled as an instance of his salutary authority, that the Romans, in deference to him, were willing to forego an effeminate species of amusement, and endeavour to cultivate a more manly taste. But after his Dacian triumph the favourite performers again appeared in the theatre; and the emperor himself was greatly attached to one of them, named Pylades. His plea-

tures, however, did not divert him from business, nor his warlike achievements disqualify him for peaceful occupations. He often appeared on the tribunal, and was assiduous in the administration of justice.

TRAJAN,
4.
A. D. 101.

One of his closest friends, and one in whom he justly reposed an unbounded confidence, was L. Licinius Sura, who was consul in the year 102. Julian describes Trajan as naturally eloquent, but, from a spirit of indolence, as entrusting the composition of his speeches to Sura ; at the same time he ridicules the emperor's loud, but indistinct, mode of speaking. According to other authors, Trajan, though endowed with taste and good sense, was neither profound nor accurate in his accomplishments ; and, therefore, it might have been not so much indolence, as mistrust of his own powers, that induced him to rely upon the pen of Sura. This confidential secretary and friend of the emperor was so rich, that he built a gymnasium for the Roman people ; but the favour which he enjoyed, and the eminence which he attained, naturally exposed him to the attacks of his less fortunate competitors. Trajan, being wearied with the calumnies of those who impeached the fidelity of his friend, endeavoured to confute them in the following manner. He went one day without invitation to the house of Sura, and, having declared his intention to sup with him, dismissed all his guards. He sent for the physician of Sura, and his barber also, that the one might pay some attention to his eyes, and the other shave his beard. He afterwards bathed and partook of the entertainment which was offered him ; and on the following day he reproved the calumniators of his friend by observing ; " If Sura had wished to kill me, he would have done it yesterday." His confidence remained unshaken, as long as Sura lived ; and

TRAJAN,
5.
A. D. 102.
Julian Cæs.
Vict. Epit. 13.
Dion. lxxviii.

TRAJAN,
5.
A. D. 102.

upon his death, which took place about the year 110, he honoured him with a public funeral, and caused a statue to be erected to his memory. It seems, also, that he ordered some baths to be distinguished by the name of his friend.

Plin. Ep. v.
14, 21.

There were several laws forbidding advocates at Rome to receive unlimited sums of money from their clients ; but avarice and duplicity had caused the legal restrictions to be almost universally disregarded. Pliny, satisfied with the fame of eloquence, declares, that he never allowed himself to accept of the most ordinary presents for the causes which he pleaded ; but there were very few that imitated his example of disinterested forbearance. Licinius Nepos, being invested with the office of prætor, excited great surprise at Rome by announcing his intention to enforce the decree of the senate, which required, that all persons, who had suits, should swear, before they came on, that they had neither given, nor promised, nor ensured any thing to any one for advocating their cause ; when the suit was finished they were permitted to make a present, not exceeding a fixed amount*. Nigrinus also, a tribune of the people, took an opportunity of complaining of the venality and corruption of advocates, declaring, that they not only defended, but also betrayed, causes for money ; and after enumerating the laws and decrees of the senate, which were violated by such conduct, he gave it as his opinion, that the emperor should be requested to oppose some remedy to the growing evil. In consequence of this appeal, Trajan issued some orders, the precise nature of which is not explained : they are commended as being strict, yet moderate.

Plin. Ep. vi. 19. He was also petitioned to restrain the corrupt

* *Decem millia*, which would be £78. 2s. 6d.

practices of persons, who, while candidates for public offices, openly gave entertainments, and sent presents, to those whose favour they wished to secure, and secretly deposited with them sums of money, which by a tacit collusion were not to be restored. The senators, feeling indignation at these modes of bribery, decreed, that the consuls should request the interposition of the emperor's authority; and being thus formally solicited, he not only restrained by law the venality complained of, but ordered that those, who were candidates for the honours of the state, should hold a third part of their property in land situated in Italy. It appeared to him disgraceful, that persons desirous of being invested with office, should consider Rome and Italy as places merely of temporary residence, without being attached to them by any ties of duty or interest. The immediate effect of this new regulation was, that lands in Italy, and especially in the environs of the city, acquired an additional value.

TRAJAN,
5.
A. D. 102.

Centumcellæ, on the coast of Etruria, seemed to be pointed out by nature for the construction of a harbour, as the shore was curved for a considerable extent into the form of an amphitheatre. Trajan, who had a beautiful villa there, resolved to build a port, which was to be distinguished by his own name; and he not only raised strong works on the two sides, but formed an artificial island at the entrance, by sinking huge stones. His design was completed in about two years, and the place afforded convenient refuge for vessels, as there was no harbour on the coast for a great distance. In the same spot, or near to it, appears the modern port of Civita Vecchia, in the Papal dominions. About the year 116 Trajan, at his own expense, made a port at Ancona.

TRAJAN,
6.
A. D. 103.
Plin. Ep. vi. 31.

TRAJAN,
6.
A. D. 103.
Plin. Ep. x. 42.

Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia, was visited by a conflagration, which destroyed a great number of private houses, and two public edifices. The flames were not only augmented by the violence of the wind, but were suffered to spread by the listlessness of the inhabitants, who stood as idle spectators of their devouring progress: the city, also, was unprovided with any of the necessary means for extinguishing fires. Pliny, who was then in Bithynia, suggested to Trajan the expediency of establishing a company of 150 workmen, whose aid might be employed in checking conflagrations; but the emperor did not approve of the plan, as it had been found, that combinations of persons, however small, had created factious disturbances in the cities of that province.

TRAJAN,
7.
A. D. 104.

In the following year (according to Eusebius) the remains of Nero's golden palace at Rome were consumed by fire.

Dion. lxxviii.
Julian Cæs.

Decebalus, the Dacian chief, notwithstanding the humiliation which he had suffered, was far from being subdued; his war with Trajan lasted about five years, with a short intermission, the exact duration of which it is not easy to compute. Upon his renewal of hostilities he found himself in so much peril from the defection of many of the Dacians, that he sued for peace; but his pride could not submit to the proposed terms of giving up his arms, and surrendering himself. He prepared, therefore, for a more vigorous contest, and endeavoured to gain allies among the neighbouring people, by representing to them the danger to which they would expose themselves by deserting him, and the policy of uniting in defence of their liberty, instead of detaching their interests, and allowing themselves to be overcome singly. He

assailed those who had formerly been hostile to him, and despoiled the Jazyges of part of their territory. The senate, being informed of his open infractions of the treaty, declared war against him; and Trajan again took the field, being too eager for military achievements, to leave the fame or the danger to his generals.

TRAJAN,
7.
A. D. 104.

A scrupulous delicacy of honour was not to be expected from a barbarian of Dacia; and Decebalus, finding himself engaged in a very unequal contest, resorted to the unjustifiable project of destroying, by assassination, the enemy who was too powerful for him in war. He sent some pretended deserters into Moesia, to make an attempt upon the life of Trajan, who was at all times easy of access, especially in the busy scenes of a campaign. The cowardly design did not succeed; for one of the conspirators was apprehended upon suspicion, and, being put to the torture, made a confession of the whole plot.

Decebalus exhibited another instance of perfidy in detaining Longinus, a Roman general of some eminence, whom he invited to a parley, under pretence of concluding a capitulation with him. Having ensnared him into his power, he questioned him in a public manner respecting the plans of Trajan, and when he did not procure the information which he expected, he ordered him to be kept in custody. He afterwards despatched a messenger to Trajan, offering to restore Longinus, on condition that the country as far as the Danube should be conceded to him, and that he should be indemnified for the expenses incurred in the war. To this proposal Trajan returned an answer of an ambiguous nature, that he might appear neither to disregard the fate of his general, nor to attach great impor-

TRAJAN,
7.
A. D. 104.

tance to it. Longinus, who had formed a secret resolution to die, beguiled Decebalus, by promising to obtain terms of peace from the emperor; and, having written a letter, he sent it to Trajan by the hands of a faithful freedman, whose safety he wished to secure. After the departure of his messenger, he swallowed some poison with which he had provided himself. Decebalus, thus eluded, demanded the restitution of the freedman, for which he promised not only to give up the body of Longinus, but to restore ten prisoners. He sent a centurion, who had been captured with Longinus, to offer these terms to Trajan; who neither allowed the freedman nor the centurion to return to the treacherous Dacian, considering that it was more incumbent on him to preserve their lives, than to gain possession of the corpse of Longinus.

Dion. lxxviii.

In order to facilitate his operations against the enemy, Trajan resolved to construct a bridge over the Danube; and among the various works which dignify his name, this has been admired as the most stupendous. According to the description of Dion, there were twenty piers of squared stone, their height being 150 feet (above the foundation) and their breadth 60; they were placed at a distance of 170 feet from each other. If, therefore, we reckon twenty-one arches, and include the breadth of the piers in their span, the bridge will have been 8570 feet long; if we add the breadth of the piers to the span of the arches, the length will be increased to 4770 feet. The former appears the more reasonable computation; and it seems probable, from the representations preserved on medals, that the arches were framed of wood. The name of Apollodorus of Damascus deserves to be recorded, as the architect who superintended the work; and, notwith-

standing the disparaging opinions, by which some moderns may attempt to show their ingenuity*, there is no reason to doubt that he had to contend with great difficulties. The river was full of whirlpools, and the bottom muddy; and though the most narrow part was selected for the erection of the bridge, yet the compression of the stream caused there the greatest depth, and rapidity of current.

When the bridge was completed, Trajan prosecuted the war in security. The conquest of Dacia was too arduous to be achieved with rapidity, yet his military skill and steady courage gradually surmounted all difficulties. The presence and example of the emperor were strong incentives to the emulation of his soldiers. A knight, who had been dangerously wounded, allowed himself to be carried from the field of battle, imagining

TRAJAN,
7.
A.D. 104.

TRAJAN,
8.
A.D. 105.

* Mr. Gibbon observes: "Had Apollodorus, the architect, left a description of his own work, the fabulous wonders of Dion Cassius would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan's bridge consisted of twenty or twenty-two stone piles, with wooden arches; the river is shallow, the current gentle, and the whole interval no more than 443 (*Reimar ad Dion. from Marsigli*) or 515 *toises*, (*D'Anville, Geographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 305)." — *Decline and Fall*, chap. 41.

Note.—These reflections appear very unsatisfactory. Whatever "fabulous wonders" there are in Dion Cassius, I cannot discover them in his account of Trajan's bridge. Although his description of a part of the Danube may not accord with the appearance which it presents to modern observers; yet is it incredible that in the lapse of so many centuries a change should be effected in a portion of the bed of a large river? Mr. Gibbon says: "The river is shallow, the current gentle:" but Dion declares, that the part where the bridge was built was the most rapid and deep (*powdieraroc kai bathuraroc*), and he considers the contraction of the stream as the cause. Mr. Gibbon had just quoted from Procopius: "that the Danube was stopped by the ruins of the bridge:" and would not that produce a shallowness of the waters? As to the width of the river, there is almost as much difference between the two numbers which he assigns, as between the higher computation and that of Dion; which then are we to receive as indisputable? Dion states that the Danube sometimes overflowed its banks to a very considerable extent; and might not this circumstance alone compel Trajan to carry his bridge some distance beyond the ordinary channel of the river? In short, have we any right to assume that the river and its banks in one particular spot remain exactly as they were in the age of Dion, and upon that assumption to accuse him of writing "fabulous wonders."

TRAJAN,
8.
A. D. 105.



that the injury which he had received was not incurable; but when he understood that it was vain to hope for recovery, he sprang from his tent, and returned to his post, where he died, after performing acts of desperate valour. Decebalus offered the most pertinacious resistance to the Romans; but when he saw his whole kingdom in possession of the invaders, and found himself driven from his palace, and in danger of becoming a captive, he terminated the war by a voluntary death, and his head was carried to Rome. His name is tarnished by some acts of cruelty and treachery; but he deserves an eminent place among those barbarian chiefs, whose courage and patriotism prompted them to the hopeless endeavour of opposing the legions of Rome, while she was in the height of her military grandeur. Aware that he was engaged in a contest which threatened the safety of his riches, if not of his kingdom, he had concealed some of his treasures in the river Sargetia, which flowed near his palace. Having diverted the course of the river, he caused an excavation to be made in its bed, wherein he deposited silver and gold, and other valuable things which would not be destroyed by humidity: after the receptacle had been covered with stones and earth, the river was suffered to resume its usual course. Garments, and articles of a similar nature, were secreted in caves; and in all these acts of concealment he employed none but captives, who were afterwards killed, that they might not divulge the task in which they had been engaged. Bicilis, however, who was one of his friends, and was acquainted with his policy, made the disclosure, when he was taken by the Romans.

With Decebalus, the independence of Dacia was

destroyed, and the country was annexed to the Roman provinces. Three rivers, the Danube, the Dniester, and the Teisse, formed its boundaries on three sides; and on the north it was enclosed by Sarmatia and the Carpathian mountains. The inhabitants were not only remarkable for strength and hardihood of body, but their warlike spirit was cherished by the precepts of Zalmoxis*, whom they revered as a god, and who had grounded their faith upon the sublime doctrine, that death was only a removal from one state of being to another: this inspired them to meet their fate with cheerfulness and alacrity. They were the same people whom Herodotus mentions under the name of Getæ; and he says, that their god was called Gebeleizis, as well as Zalmoxis. According to accounts current among the Greeks, Zalmoxis had been the slave of Pythagoras during part of his life; but Herodotus considers, that he must have been many years prior to that philosopher. The Getæ were not taught to believe that they should transmigrate into other bodies, and revisit the earth; but that at death they should be carried to their god, and with him and their friends enjoy the possession of every thing that is desirable.

TRAJAN,
8.
A. D. 106.

Julian Cos.
Herod. iv. 94
—98.

To secure his conquest, Trajan placed garrisons in the most convenient parts of Dacia; and, as the country had been greatly depopulated by the long war, he collected an immense multitude of persons from all parts of the Roman empire, to till the lands, and replenish the cities, of the new province. Of the colonies which he established, Ulpianum in the north bore his own name; the capital, Zermizegethusa†, was distinguished by the titles of Ulpia

Dion. lxxviii.
Aur. Vict. 13.
Eutrop. viii. 6.

* Often written, *Zamolxis*.

† Often shortened into *Sarmiz*.

TRAJAN,
8.
A. D. 105.

Trajana, and Augusta Dacorum. In the neighbouring countries of Moesia and Thrace, his own name and the names of his wife and sister, were preserved in the cities of Trajanopolis, Plotinopolis, and Marcianopolis.

While the emperor was gaining victories beyond the Danube, Aulus Cornelius Palma, the governor of Syria, conquered Arabia Petræa, and subjected it to the authority of the Romans. It was formerly ruled by its own princes or kings; the capital was Petra, and modern travellers have considered it to be the Edom, which is the subject of some remarkable prophecies in Scripture*.

When Trajan returned to Rome, he celebrated his second and final triumph over the Dacians, and was honoured with numerous embassies from different nations, and one even from the Indians. He entertained the Romans with spectacles for one hundred and twenty-three days: thirteen thousand wild and tame animals were slaughtered for their amusement, and ten thousand gladiators engaged in sanguinary combat.

TRAJAN,
9.
A. D. 106.
Dion. lxxviii.

Trajan's activity constantly engaged him in works of utility and splendour. He ordered all the light and defaced coin of the empire to be melted down; he constructed a road, with magnificent bridges, across the Pontine marshes; he built libraries, and commenced his forum and celebrated column, which will be described hereafter. Yet neither his virtues, nor his power, could secure him against intrigues. A certain Crassus is named among those who formed plots against him; but his trial, and that of other conspirators, was entrusted to the senate. His friends were rewarded by himself, and he erected statues to those, whom

* Jere'm. chap. 49, &c.

he most highly esteemed, as Sossius, Palma, and Celsus.

TRAJAN,
9.
A. D. 106.

Although Trajan was attentive to the arts of peace, yet his desire of glory urged him to military enterprises, and he soon discovered, in the affairs of the East, an excuse for undertaking another war. Exedares, king of Armenia, had received the diadem from the Parthian monarch, Chosroes; but as it was remembered, that, before Tiridates was acknowledged king of Armenia, he had even come to Rome to receive the diadem from the hands of the emperor Nero, Trajan complained, that his rights had been disregarded, and threatened to resent the affront which had been offered to him. Prompt to put his menaces into execution, he departed from Rome, and had not proceeded further than Athens, when he was met by the ambassadors of the Parthian king, who sued for peace, and endeavoured to propitiate him by presents. They assured him, that Exedares, being acceptable to neither the Romans nor the Parthians, had been deposed; that Chosroes now solicited the kingdom of Armenia for Parthamasiris, son of Pacorus, and besought the emperor to confirm his authority by sending him the diadem. Trajan, declining the presents which were offered to him, briefly replied, that friendship was proved by actions, not by words, and that, on his arrival in Syria, he would make all the arrangements that were necessary. After this angry intimation he set sail for Asia, and, passing through Cilicia, soon arrived at Seleucia in Syria.

Trajan entered Antioch at the beginning of the following year, and there received presents, with assurances of friendship, from Augarus*, king of

TRAJAN,
10.
A. D. 107.

* Or Abgarus.

TRAJAN,
10.
A. D. 107.

Osroene, a country situated in the north of Mesopotamia. As this prince's territories were exposed to the attacks of both Romans and Parthians, he was anxious not to provoke the hostility of either side, and therefore evaded, as long as possible, any interview with Trajan. When the Romans entered Armenia, many satraps and kings came to offer their submission to the emperor; but the one whom he most distinguished by his favour was Anchialus, king of the Heniochi, a Colchian people. Among the presents which the barbarians thought worthy of his notice was a horse, that had been taught to pay obeisance by bending his fore-legs, and placing his head at the feet of the person whom he approached. The cities of Armenia offered no resistance to the arms of Trajan. Parthamasiris had written to him, and adopted the title of king; but finding that no answer was vouchsafed, he wrote the second time without the regal title, and requested that Marcus Junius, the governor of Cappadocia, might be sent to him, in order to receive a proposal which he had to make. Trajan thought it sufficient to send the son of Junius, and on his arrival at Elegia in Armenia, granted an interview to the unfortunate prince. The emperor being seated on his tribunal within the camp, Parthamasiris, after saluting him, took the diadem from his own head, and, laying it at Trajan's feet, waited in respectful silence, not doubting that it would be restored to him. When the Roman soldiers beheld the humiliating position of a prince, descended from the renowned family of the Arsacidæ, and so nearly related to two Parthian monarchs,* they could not restrain their exultation, but with

* He was the son of the late king Pacorus; but it seems doubtful whether he was the brother or nephew of Chosroes.

TRAJAN,
10.
A. D. 107.

unanimous shouts saluted Trajan, giving him the victorious appellation of *Imperator*. Parthamasiris, terrified by the unintelligible sounds, thought that he was doomed to insult and destruction, and would have fled, if he had not been surrounded by bands of soldiers; he requested, therefore, to confer with Trajan in private, and for that purpose was conducted to his tent. Finding the emperor unmoved by all his petitions, he at last rushed from the tent, full of indignation at his rigorous treatment. Trajan, re-ascending his tribunal, commanded the prince to appear again before him, and to declare in public what were his requests, that others might not ignorantly misrepresent the nature of their private conference. Parthamasiris asserted, with becoming freedom, that he stood there not as a captive or conquered prince, but that he had come spontaneously, in full confidence that he should not be exposed to any injury, but that he should receive the diadem, as Tiridates had formerly received it from Nero. Trajan replied, that it was not his intention to give Armenia to any one, that it belonged to the Romans, and would in future have a Roman governor; but that he would allow Parthamasiris to depart wherever he pleased. He accordingly dismissed him, with the Parthians that had accompanied him; but he sent an escort with them, to prevent any hostile machinations. He commanded all the Armenians that had come in the prince's guard to remain in the camp, declaring, that they were now subject to the authority of the Romans.

Having distributed his garrisons in Armenia, he marched to Edessa, where Augarus was constrained to meet him, and to offer his excuses for not having appeared in his presence sooner. His explanations

TRAJAN,
10.
A. D. 107.

were accepted, chiefly through the influence of his son Arbandes, who, being in the flower of youthful beauty, had conciliated the favour of Trajan. Augarus entertained the emperor at a feast, in which his son was introduced exhibiting his skill in a barbaric dance.

TRAJAN,
11.
A. D. 108.

Several chieftains opposed the progress of Trajan in Mesopotamia, although with but little success. Singara and other towns were captured by his general, Lucius Quietus. Trajan himself was vigilant and indefatigable in all the duties of a commander, always accompanying his troops on foot, exercising them in every species of tactics, and sometimes trying them by false reports, in order that they might be prepared for all emergencies, and not easily discouraged by uncertain rumours. After taking the cities of Nisibis and Batnæ, he was honoured with the title of *Parthicus*; and nothing more for many years is known respecting his movements in the East. Even of the events which have been related, the chronology is uncertain and disputed; for though many writers employed their pens upon the reign of Trajan, the history, which has descended to us, is mutilated and disjointed in every part. It appears, that Parthamasiris was killed in his attempt to keep possession of Armenia: Chosroes, who at first had not refused submission, might have been easily induced to comply with the conditions that were offered to him; and Trajan, probably, returned to his own dominions, until fresh occurrences awakened his warlike energies.

CHAPTER III.

Destructive earthquake at Antioch.—Trajan crosses the Tigris, and conquers the whole of Adiabene.—Marches into Babylonia.—Captures Seleucia and Ctesiphon.—Descends the Tigris, and visits the Persian Gulf.—Alarmed by the revolt of several cities.—Appoints Parthamaspates to be King of the Parthians.—Goes into Arabia, and is afterwards repulsed from the town of Atræ.—Insurrections and atrocities of the Jews in Egypt, Libya, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia.—Trajan, attacked by severe illness, wishes to return to Italy, but dies at Selinus in Cilicia.—Remarks upon his conquests and victories.—His buildings, forum, and column.—The most celebrated writers of his age; Frontinus, Tacitus, and Pliny the younger.—Pliny's letter respecting the Christians in Bithynia.—The Emperor's answer.—Martyrdom of Ignatius and Simeon.—Trajan's clemency in his general government.—The vices to which he was addicted.

AT an age when Trajan might have justly claimed exemption from the fatigues of war, his love of military fame, or the provocations which he had received from the Parthians, prompted him to undertake another expedition into the East.

TRAJAN,
18.
A. D. 115
Dion. lxxviii.

While he was passing the winter at Antioch, frequent thunderings and violent winds were followed by an earthquake, which continued for several days and nights, and was so much the more destructive, as great multitudes were collected from

TRAJAN,
18.
A. D. 115.

all parts of the empire, being drawn to the city by their military and civil occupations, or attracted thither by curiosity. Numbers were killed in the streets, and still greater numbers were overwhelmed in their houses. Among those who were destroyed instantly was Pedo, one of the consuls for that year. Others were reserved for a more lingering death, being wounded and mutilated, or enclosed in ruins, where they were doomed to suffocation or famine. Trajan received but a few bruises, having made an opportune escape through a window of his apartment; and it is related by Dion, that a person of more than human stature* approached him, and conducted him out of danger. When the tremors of the earth had ceased, a woman was found among the ruins, who had supported herself and her infant by her own milk; and, though the search was continued, no one else was rescued, except a child who was sucking the breast of its deceased mother. Mount Corasius† received such a concussion, that its tops were cleft asunder, and appeared as if they would fall upon the city. Other mountains were levelled to the earth; bodies of water arose, where they had never been seen before; and, on the contrary, well-known streams disappeared.

At the approach of spring, Trajan commenced his military operations by preparing to cross the Tigris. As the country around that river afforded no timber for ship-building, he was obliged to seek his materials in the forests near Nisibis, and to order his vessels to be so constructed, that they could be taken to pieces, and conveyed in waggons wherever he pleased. Numerous boats, thus built, were

* Probably one of his own attendants.

† Casaubon proposes to alter *Corasius* into *Casius* or *Orocasius*.—*Note on Life of Hadrian*.

TRAJAN,
18.
A. D. 115.

carried down to the river, and his arrangements being completed after great labour, he resolved to force his passage near Mount Cardynas, in defiance of the barbarians who were ready to oppose him on the opposite bank. The sudden appearance of so many vessels in a country which was destitute of timber, filled his enemies with astonishment; and when they beheld the force of his armament, and the rapidity with which his soldiers executed their movements in various directions, they relinquished the contest, and fled. Having crossed the Tigris, Trajan reduced the whole of Adiabene, or that part of Assyria which lay around Nineveh. Arbela and Gaugamela, which had been ennobled by the great victory of Alexander, fell into his possession; and, as he was ambitious of emulating the exploits of the Macedonian King, he probably reflected with complacent triumph upon the capture of those places.

The Parthians, weakened by civil dissensions, could offer but little opposition to their powerful invader, and he marched without difficulty into the country of Babylonia. He there beheld the asphaltus with which the walls of Babylon had been built, and which formed so strong a cement, that, cohering with bricks or small stones, it made a substance harder than any rock, or even iron. He viewed the mouth of the lake, from which an exhalation issued, that was fatal to beasts and birds; and Dion relates, that he himself had witnessed the destructive effects of a similar vapour in Hierapolis, a city of Asia. It was Trajan's intention to join the waters of the Euphrates with those of the Tigris, by a canal, in order that he might have less trouble in conveying his boats to the latter river. But he abandoned the project when he was informed, that the Euphrates was much higher than

TRAJAN,
18,
A. D. 115.

the Tigris, being apprehensive, that the impetuous descent of the waters might render the Euphrates unnavigable. He selected, therefore, a place where there was but a short distance between the two rivers, and, having by machines transported his vessels over the marshy ground, was again enabled to pass the Tigris. Seleucia (it is probable) had already yielded to his arms; Ctesiphon was now taken, and this capture of the chief city of the Parthian empire was a fresh occasion for receiving the salutation of *Imperator*, and gave him additional claim to the title of *Parthicus*. The senate decreed him various honours, and granted him permission to celebrate as many triumphs as he wished.

TRAJAN,
19,
A. D. 116.

After the capture of Ctesiphon, he was seized with the desire of descending the Tigris, and visiting the Persian Gulf, which formed part of what the ancients vaguely called the Erythræan Sea*. The rapidity of the stream, and the force of the tides, increased by unfavourable weather, rendered his voyage highly dangerous. He encountered little or no resistance on the part of the natives. The island of Messene, situated in the Tigris, and of which Athambilus was king, easily submitted to his authority. The inhabitants of Charax, being subjects of the same prince, received the emperor with marks of friendship. After this, according to Dion†, he came to the ocean; by which, it seems, we are to understand nothing more than the Persian Gulf, as the town of Charax was situated at the mouth of the Tigris. While he was surveying the sea, to which his adventurous spirit had conducted him, he observed a vessel that was

* Dion considers, that its name was derived from a prince of the adjacent country. Cellarius follows his opinion.

† 'Ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἰλθὼν, &c.

about to sail to India, and, as his thoughts had been lately directed to that unknown country, he avowed his ambitious desires, by declaring: "I should certainly have proceeded to India, if I had been young." While remarking that Alexander was to be congratulated on account of his victories, he indulged in groundless vanity, by asserting, that he had advanced further than that conqueror. His veneration, however, for his memory was so great, that he took an opportunity, in one of his journeys, to visit the house in which he died, and there offered funeral sacrifices. The accounts of the emperor's conquests, which he transmitted to Rome, so perplexed the senators, that they could scarcely pronounce the names of the various people whom, they heard with amazement, he had subjected to their sway. They made their adulation, therefore, a veil for their ignorance, by resolving, that he might celebrate triumphs over as many nations as he pleased. Besides other honours, they voted a triumphal arch to be erected in his forum, and resolved to proceed as far as possible, to meet him on his return to Rome.

But Trajan's success had reached its climax; and instead of adding to his conquests, he could scarcely retain what he had acquired. During his voyage to the Persian Gulf, most of the cities which he had taken were agitated with rebellion, and made efforts to throw off his yoke; from some his garrisons were expelled, and in others they were put to the sword. As soon as he was informed of these revolts, he dispatched Maximus and Lucius against the insurgents. The former of these generals was defeated in battle and slain; Lucius was more successful in his attacks, as he recovered the city of Nisibis, and, after besieging Edessa,

TRAJAN,
19.
A. D. 110.

TRAJAN,
19.
A. D. 116.

captured it, and set it on fire. Seleucia, also, was burnt, having been taken by Erucius Clarus and Julius Alexander. Trajan, fearful that the commotions might spread among the Parthians, resolved to appoint a king over them instead of Chosroes, whom he had deposed. With this view, he went to Ctesiphon, and assembled the Romans and Parthians in a large plain, where he appeared on a lofty tribunal, and, after expatiating on his own achievements, declared Parthamaspates to be the king whom he had chosen, and placed the diadem on his head.

Dion. lxxviii.
Eutrop. viii. 3.

Having made these arrangements, he felt himself sufficiently secure to march into Arabia; and that country, according to Eutropius, was reduced into the form of a province. After so many specious conquests, he was doomed to encounter a mortifying defeat before the walls of Atra, a small town in Mesopotamia*, whose inhabitants had revolted. Its position, on a lofty mountain, was not its only or principal defence; for the surrounding country was so barren, producing neither wood nor grass, and so scantily supplied with water, that besiegers could not subsist, except by what they brought with them. The place was consecrated to the sun, and, in the opinion of Dion, was protected by that god: which may be true, if we ascribe the protection merely to the physical power of the great luminary. For when the Romans assailed it, they were terrified by storms of rain and hail, and by thunderings and lightnings: their food, also, and drink were rendered offensive by the swarms of flies that settled upon them. Trajan succeeded in battering down part of the wall, but

* Some geographers (in opposition to the accounts of Ammianus), have placed it in *Arabia Deserta*. Dion makes it a city of the *Agareni*, which is probably a wrong reading: it may, however, have been peopled by an Arabian tribe.

neither he, nor the emperor Severus, in a subsequent age, could capture the town. His cavalry were repulsed, and compelled to retreat to their camp, and Trajan himself with difficulty escaped the fury of the pursuers. For, although he had laid aside his imperial dress, yet the barbarians conjectured who he was, from the hoariness of his head, and the dignity of his countenance; and the shower of arrows which they directed against him killed one of his knights. Not long after this defeat, his health began to decline, either from the fatigues and anxieties which he had suffered, or the natural infirmities of age.

TRAJAN,
19.
A. D. 116.

While Trajan was occupied with ambitious projects in the East, the Jews committed the most sanguinary excesses in several parts of the empire. Their seditions appear to have commenced in the year 115, and extended through the whole of Egypt, raging with the fiercest violence in the country of Cyrene. The furious Israelites, attacking the Romans and Greeks, were not satisfied with merely putting them to death: they flayed their wretched victims, besmeared themselves with their blood, and even feasted upon their flesh and entrails. Many were sawn from the head through the middle of the body; others were exposed to wild beasts, or compelled to fight in single combat; and, by various modes of death, two hundred and twenty thousand persons are said to have perished. In the following year, the island of Cyprus was made the scene of similar atrocities, which the Jews perpetrated under a leader named Artemion. They destroyed the city of Salamis, massacred the inhabitants, and altogether killed about two hundred and forty thousand persons. These barbarities excited so much detestation against them, that one

Eus. iv. 2.
Dion. lxxviii.

TRAJAN,
19.
A. D. 116.

of their nation was not allowed to land upon the island, even under the most pressing circumstances ; if he was driven thither by a storm, he was to be put to death. The Jews who had settled in Mesopotamia, exhibiting the same turbulent spirit as their countrymen in other parts, were defeated by Lucius Quietus. Martius Turbo had been sent by the emperor, to quell the insurrections in Libya and Egypt.

TRAJAN,
20,
A. D. 117.
Vict. Ept. 13.
Eutrop. viii. 5.
Dion. lxxviii.

The ardour of Trajan might have impelled him to fresh enterprises, if the strength of his body had not ceased to correspond to the vigour of his mind. While he was preparing for another campaign in Mesopotamia, he was so oppressed with illness, that he was obliged to leave his army in Syria under the command of Hadrian, and to set sail for Italy. He himself suspected that poison had been administered to him ; others attributed his malady to the stoppage of an issue of blood from the lower part of his body, to which he was subject every year. Whatever the cause might have been, he was attacked with apoplexy and dropsy ; and a sudden flux of the bowels terminated his life at Selinus, a city of Cilicia*. He expired in the beginning of August, having enjoyed the imperial power a little more than nineteen years and a half. The city where he died received the appellation of *Trajanopolis*. After his body had been burnt, his bones were placed in a golden urn, and conveyed to Rome, where they were interred under the magnificent column which still bears his name. He was the only emperor whose remains were buried within the walls of the city. The usual honour of deification was bestowed

* Eutropius says, he died at Seleucia in Isauria ; but Dion's account appears the more credible.

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upon him, and the fame of his victories was commemorated for several years by what were called "The Parthian Games."

The manners of Trajan had been formed, and his character fixed, before he arrived at the sovereignty; and the possession of absolute power effected so little change in him, that Pliny's Panegyric exhibited as true a description of the emperor's virtues at the time of his death, as at the period when it was pronounced in the senate. As he had acquired great renown for his military exploits, even in youth, it was not to be expected, that, when he had the sole command of all the legions of Rome, he would be reluctant to engage in the enterprises of war, or unskilful in directing its operations. His attack upon Dacia seemed justifiable, on account of the ignominious terms to which Domitian had submitted; and the conquest of the country might appear necessary, from the restless and pertinacious hostility exhibited by Decebalus. Trajan's invasion of the Parthian empire was of a more questionable nature; for Dion expressly imputes it to a love of glory*; but Julian (in his *Cæsars*) introduces Trajan as protesting, that he had not taken arms against the Parthians, until they had attacked him. Whatever provocation he may have received for commencing the war, it is difficult to believe, that he did not prosecute it with a secret ardour for military conquest, and with a weak desire of imitating the exploits of Alexander. It can scarcely be alleged, that the Indians, against whom he was desirous of leading his troops, had offended him by any act of aggression or insult. But whether he was incited by mere motives of glory or not, the

* Δόξης ἐκτιθυμία.

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victories which he gained served but to cast a transient lustre upon the Roman arms. Although he is said to have reduced Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, to the condition of provinces, yet in none of them could his power be considered as firmly established. In Arabia Felix, it is probable that his authority was still less regarded. The Albanian, Colchian, Iberian, and other barbarous princes, who readily offered their friendship or accepted his alliance, would, perhaps, as quickly have renounced all league with him, in the first crisis of danger. It is certain, that the Parthians soon evinced their scorn for the king he had placed over them, and made it apparent, that they intended to be guided by their own inclinations in the choice of a ruler.

The chief benefit of Trajan's victories was, that they revived the courage, and restored the fame, of the Roman legions, making them respected by the barbarians of the surrounding countries. The same energy, which he infused into military affairs, was equally visible in all other parts of his government. The virtue and genius of the Romans, which had languished under the oppressive tyranny of Domitian, were re-animated by the generous sympathy of Trajan; and a fresh impulse was given, not only to military enterprise, but to arts, to learning, and every honourable pursuit. Works of utility and ornament, bridges, roads, market-places, libraries, theatres, baths, and gymnasias, arose in every part of the empire under the auspices of a prince, whose taste delighted in magnificent structures. His name appeared on so many edifices, which he had either built or repaired, that it excited the ridicule of the emperor Constantine, who compared him to a plant *, whose

Vict. Epit. 13.
Dion. lxxviii.

* *Herba parietaria*.

nature it is to grow upon walls. But notwithstanding this censure, the Roman world was indebted to Trajan for some of its noblest buildings, and his forum and column were almost unrivalled in beauty. The forum appears to have been quadrangular, with piazzas and a triumphal arch on each side. The column, rising in the centre, was intended to commemorate his conquest of Dacia, and to pourtray by sculpture the most striking achievements of the victors: it was also to answer another end, by marking the place of sepulture of the prince who erected it. Its height, according to the Roman computation, was one hundred and forty-four feet, and was determined, not so much by the rules of art, as by an intention of showing that hilly ground of an equal height had been cleared away, in order to form the plane on which the buildings stood.

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Trajan was the patron of literature as well as of art. He is said to have written an account of his Dacian expeditions; and, as he wished to rival Alexander in his exploits, he may have cherished the hope of imitating Julius Cæsar in the history of his wars. The principal writers of his age, whose works have descended to us, are Frontinus, Tacitus, and Pliny the younger. Sextus Julius Frontinus was a person of consular rank, who devoted his attention to the theory, as well as the practice of war. He commanded for some time the Roman legions in Britain, and afterwards displayed his military science by publishing four books upon *Stratagems*. He also wrote treatises upon aqueducts, and some other subjects. The celebrated C. Cornelius Tacitus was an author, whose genius was sufficient to ennoble any age or country; but his powers would probably have been buried in obscurity, if he had been doomed to live all his

Voss. Hist.
Lat. i. 30.

Voss. Hist.
Lat. iii. 1.

Tac. Vit. Agr.
2, 3.

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days under such a tyranny as that of Domitian. Nerva gave dignity to the consulship by bestowing it upon Tacitus; and the freedom and security prevailing under the government of Trajan allowed full expansion to his talents in composing his great historical works. In vivid description, and deep and pointed reflection, no historian, perhaps, has ever surpassed him; but his style wants the essential merit of perspicuity, and displays too much of that artificial pomp, which is a mark of the declining state of literature. C. Plinius Cæcilius Secundus, the friend of Tacitus, was another ornament of the age of Trajan. He was born at Comum, or Novum Comum, in the country of Insubria, near Lacus Larius, which is better known by its modern appellation of the Lake of Como. His preceptor, the celebrated Quintilian, instructed him in the best rules of oratory; and in his uncle, Pliny the elder, by whom he was adopted, he beheld the most striking example of learned industry. The advantages which he thus enjoyed were sedulously improved by him, and he became both an eloquent pleader and an accomplished scholar. But his days were not entirely spent in forensic or literary occupations: he became successively prætor, consul, and augur, and, about the year 108, was appointed by Trajan to be governor of the provinces of Pontus and Bithynia. In private life he was distinguished for his generosity, and many other amiable qualities. As a writer he is elegant, learned, and ingenious; but his style is too rhetorical, and (like that of Tacitus) is deficient in the simplicity which graced the authors of the Augustan age.

Plin. Ep. x.
97, 98.

While Pliny was in Bithynia, he was required to exercise his judicial functions in the trial of a great

number of Christians; and as he had no experience in such affairs, he wrote to obtain the direction and sanction of the emperor in the embarrassing circumstances in which he was placed. He stated, that the mode of proceeding which he had hitherto adopted, was to interrogate those accused of being Christians; and if they confessed that they were really such, he interrogated them a second and third time, and endeavoured to terrify them with threats of punishment. If they persisted in their confession, he ordered them to be led to execution, because (whatever their religion might be) he considered, that their inflexible obstinacy deserved to be punished. He received from some anonymous person a long list of supposed Christians; but these denied the charge, and to prove their veracity, they obeyed the injunctions of Pliny, by invoking the heathen gods, offering wine and incense to the statue of the emperor, and uttering imprecations against the name of Christ. Other persons, who were accused by some informer, acknowledged, that they once professed Christianity, but had abjured it for several years past; and they all consented to curse the name of Christ, and to pay adoration to the images of Trajan and the Roman gods. All that these apostates alleged against the Christians was, that they were accustomed to meet on a stated day before sunrise; that they repeated praises to Christ as to a god; and that they bound themselves by solemn obligations not to be guilty of theft, adultery, or any kind of fraud; that they assembled again at a later hour of the day to partake of food in a promiscuous but innocent manner, which practice, however, they had abandoned, as soon as they found that associations were forbidden by an edict issued in conformity with the emperor's

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(A. D. 104.)

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commands. This account appeared so extraordinary to Pliny, that he resolved to make a stricter investigation of the truth, and to put to the torture two female attendants of the Christians; but he acknowledges, that he learned nothing from these unhappy victims, except that they were addicted to a perverse and unreasonable superstition*. What principally alarmed him was the number of those endangered by the persecution which had arisen against the Christians; for he assured the emperor, that the contagion of their superstition had spread through the country, as well as through towns and cities, and that many persons of both sexes, and of every age and rank, had rendered themselves liable to judicial proceedings. He considered, however, that the evil might be corrected, if the guilty found that they could obtain pardon by a recantation of their errors; for, in consequence of the measures already pursued, the deserted temples had begun to be frequented again, the long neglected rites of paganism to be restored, and sacrificial victims were everywhere exposed for sale, although previously very few purchasers of them could be found.

This letter, which affords unequivocal testimony to the great progress of Christianity, and the innocent conduct of its professors, received an answer from Trajan, in which he declared his approbation of the course which Pliny had followed. He ordered, that Christians should not be sought for, but if persons were accused and convicted as such, they were to be punished; if any one denied the accusation, and proved his innocence by sacrificing to the heathen gods, he was to be acquitted, notwithstanding any suspicion to which his past con-

* Superstitionem pravam et immodicam.

duct had exposed him; but anonymous charges concerning any offence were to be rejected, as repugnant to justice and the spirit of the age.

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(A. D. 104.)
Eus. iii. 32,
33.

This edict of Trajan presented to the wavering and timid professor of Christianity the alluring offer of saving his life by a renunciation of his faith; but all those, who were firm and consistent in maintaining their religious principles, could expect nothing but the sentence of death, as soon as they were accused by any of the numerous enemies that surrounded them*. In the year 107, when Trajan visited Antioch, persecution seems to have raged with great violence in the East. Ignatius, bishop of that city, and pupil of the Apostle St. John, was condemned by the emperor himself as an inflexible Christian, and was sent bound to Rome, where he was devoured in the amphitheatre by wild beasts. About the same time Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, was accused by the Jews, and crucified, at the age of one hundred and twenty.

(A. D. 107.)

In the mode of death which Trajan decreed for Ignatius, he seems to have aggravated the sentence by unnecessary cruelty and insult; but in general, his punishment of the Christians did not arise from the severity of his disposition, but from motives of civil policy, which obliged him to oppose a system of worship, that appeared to himself and subjects as a bold infraction of the laws and religious institutions of the empire. By all pagan writers he is described as the most humane of princes. Julian represents the gods as awarding him the prize for clemency; and Eutropius records, that after the lapse of centuries, the senators had devised no warmer expression of congratulation to their emperors, than to

Julian. Cæs.
Eutrop. viii. 5.

* Mosheim.

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Vict. Epit. 14.
Dion. lxxviii.

hope that each might be more successful than Augustus, and more virtuous than Trajan. His kindness, by the natural frailty of human virtue, sometimes degenerated into culpable facility; for he was too lenient in tolerating the exactions of his procurators, until his wife, Plotina, awakened him to the demands of justice, and induced him to act with more scrupulous rigour. After so much has been written in his commendation, it is painful to allude to the vices by which he was degraded. Dion relates, that he was addicted to wine, and to lust of a most repulsive nature; but at the same time observes, that he had such controul over his appetites, that the indulgence of them was never injurious to himself or others. Pagans may have accepted such an extenuation of his offences; but moderns, who have stricter notions of morality, will regret, that these odious stains ever appeared upon the character of one of the best of heathen princes.

THE EMPEROR HADRIAN.

CHAPTER I.

The origin of Hadrian's family.—Hadrian placed under the guardianship of Trajan.—Marries that Emperor's grand-niece.—Distinguishes himself in various ways.—Promoted to the highest honours.—Dispute whether he was really adopted by Trajan.—Acknowledged Emperor.—Resolves to maintain peace, and to abandon Mesopotamia, and the other Eastern conquests of Trajan.—Allows the Parthian King, Chosroes, to be restored.—Quits Antioch, and arrives at Rome, where he displays great liberality.—Goes into Mæsia, and checks the hostile movements of the Sarmatians and the Roxolani.—Exposed to great odium on account of the death of Nigrinus, and three other persons of consular rank.—Tatianus and Similis retire from office.—Hadrian begins to visit the different provinces of the Empire.—Establishes strict military discipline.—Goes into Britain, and builds a wall across the island.—Disgraces Septitius Clarus and others.—Appearance of the god Apis among the Egyptians.—Hadrian visits Spain and Mauritania.—His journeys to Athens, Sicily, the Eastern provinces, and Egypt.

As Trajan died without children, no one seemed to possess a better claim to the imperial dignity than P. Ælius Hadrianus, who was related to him by

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Dion. lxi.

Aur. Vict. 13.

Spartian.

Had. Vit.

Vict. Epit. 14.

Eutrop. viii. 6.

the ties of consanguinity, as well as of marriage. His ancestors were originally settled in Hadria, a town in the Picene country, which gave its name to the adjoining sea; but in the time of the Scipios they changed their residence to Italica* in Spain, the same city that is distinguished as the birth-place of Trajan. Hadrian's father, who was surnamed Afer, was the cousin of the emperor Trajan; his mother was Domitia Paulina, whose family came from the island of Gades. Although Hadrian was of Spanish descent, he was born at Rome, on the 24th of January, A. D. 76, so that he had completed his forty-first year, when he was elevated to the imperial power. Being deprived of his father at the age of ten, he was placed under the guardianship of Trajan (who was then only of prætorian rank) and of Cælius Tatianus†, a Roman knight. In prosecuting the studies of youth, he took so much delight, and made himself such a proficient, in the Greek language, that the appellation of *Græculus* was bestowed upon him. He did not neglect the manly exercises, but devoted himself to hunting, with an ardour that appeared to exceed due bounds: it prepared him, however, for the military duties upon which he entered at the age of fifteen. The protection and favour of Trajan assisted him in the path of honourable distinction; for at a very early age he was appointed a decemviral judge, and was made tribune of a legion, and employed in Lower Moesia, before the death of Domitian. When Trajan was adopted by Nerva, Hadrian was sent to him with a congratulatory message, and his services were then transferred to

* Scipio Africanus built the city for the wounded soldiers of Italy, who had been his companions in arms.

† Or Attianus.

Upper Germany. Upon the death of Nerva he was anxious to be the first to announce the intelligence to Trajan, but was nearly frustrated by Servianus, who had married his sister Paulina, and yet endeavoured to disparage him in the opinion of Trajan by accounts of his extravagance and debts. By the jealousy of his brother-in-law, Hadrian was detained as long as possible, and his chariot was maliciously broken; but, as he possessed the greatest activity of body, he performed the journey on foot, and arrived before the messenger of Servianus.

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The calculations of astrology, the trial of the Virgilian lots, and the answer of an oracle, are all said to have predicted the greatness of Hadrian. The favours, however, of Trajan were slowly and cautiously bestowed upon him; and even when he married his grand-niece, Julia Sabina, the alliance appeared more agreeable to Plotina, than to the emperor. In discharging the office of quæstor, when he had to read an oration of the emperor in the senate, his pronunciation was so broad and rustic that it exposed him to laughter; the ridicule, however, had a beneficial effect, for he applied himself with resolute industry, until he had acquired the greatest skill and eloquence in the Latin language. He attended Trajan in the first Dacian war, and increased the familiarity of their intercourse by indulging the emperor's taste for wine, and rendering himself an agreeable companion in his carousals. In the second expedition into Dacia he had the command of a legion, and distinguished himself so much by his exploits, that he was presented with a diamond which Trajan had received from Nerva, and which seemed to justify its possessor in cherishing the most exalted hopes. He was afterwards sent as the emperor's lieutenant


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into Lower Pannonia, where he checked the aggressions of the Sarmatians, and was strict not only in maintaining the discipline of the troops, but in curbing the rapacity of the procurators. For these services he was made consul, and found himself no longer neglected by the friends of Trajan, as it began to be understood that he was to be adopted by him. Upon the death of Sura, the favourite of that emperor, he was admitted to the most familiar duties, being required to undertake the task, which Sura had performed, of composing the imperial speeches. He had always enjoyed the protection of Plotina, who seemed to be attached to him by some warmer sentiments than those of mere friendship; he did not scruple to court the good will of the freedmen and favourites of Trajan; so that at the death of the prince he possessed as much private influence as any individual in the empire, besides the power with which he was invested as governor of Syria.

Notwithstanding his various claims to the favour of Trajan, it has been questioned, whether he was ever adopted by him. It was a current opinion, that Trajan intended Neratius Priscus for his successor, that the choice was approved by many of his friends, and that he once addressed Priscus in these serious terms: "I commend the provinces to your care, in case any thing fatal should happen to me." Others, however, as well as Priscus were destined by public rumour for the enjoyment of the imperial dignity. Many persons affirmed, that Trajan wished to die like Alexander the Great, leaving the succession in uncertainty; and some pretended it was his desire, that the senate should select the most competent person to be their ruler, from a list of names, which he himself would sub-

mit to them. Those, who denied the alleged adoption of Hadrian, imputed the fraud to the artifice of Plotina. Some declared, that, after the death of Trajan, she procured a person to appear in his place, and to counterfeit the feeble voice of her dying husband. The historian Dion believed, that he had learned the authentic account from his father, Apronianus, who was governor of Cilicia, and who had informed him, that the death of Trajan was kept secret for some days, in order that the adoption of Hadrian might be published first; and in corroboration of this statement, it appeared, that the letters to the senate respecting the adoption were signed not by Trajan but Plotina, who had never before assumed such a privilege. Whether the adoption was real or fictitious, it was not communicated to Hadrian until the ninth of August, and on the eleventh of the same month he received intelligence that Trajan had expired.

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Hadrian was instantly proclaimed emperor by his troops at Antioch; but he wrote to the senate, requesting them to confirm the decision by their authority, and to excuse the precipitation of the soldiers, as the state could not exist without an emperor. He disclaimed for the future, as well as for the present, all the honours usually voted to princes, unless he himself should express his desire to receive any of them. As soon as his power was acknowledged, he resolved to reduce the empire to its ancient limits on the eastern frontier, and carefully to maintain peace with the surrounding people. Notwithstanding the dazzling victories of Trajan, there was but little tranquillity either within the Roman provinces, or beyond them. The nations that had hastily submitted to his arms had begun to assert their independence; besides which, the

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Sarmatians had commenced war, there were disturbances in Mauritania and Egypt, Britain was impatient of the Roman yoke, and there were rebellious commotions in Lycia and Palestine. This threatening aspect of affairs induced Hadrian to relinquish the lately-acquired provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, and to consider the Euphrates (as formerly) to be the boundary of the Roman empire. The resignation of so much territory was imputed by some persons to the envy with which he viewed the conquests of Trajan. He might have pleaded in his defence the authority of Augustus, who was averse to any extension of the empire; but he candidly acknowledged, that he followed the example of Cato, who proclaimed the independence of the Macedonians, because they could not be kept in subjection. If it had appeared desirable to preserve the conquests of Trajan, Hadrian possessed sufficient knowledge of war to justify him in the hope of augmenting his own military fame; but if the attempt was too perilous, he may be considered rather as regarding his own reputation, than envying that of his predecessor, by opportunely manifesting his resolution not to engage in a fruitless undertaking. He offered so little opposition to the wishes of the Parthians, that he allowed them to restore their former king, Chosroes, whom Trajan had expelled, and gave the sovereignty of some adjoining country to Parthaspates, who had been rejected by them. He even conceived the intention of abandoning Dacia, but was dissuaded by his friends, who represented to him, that the Roman citizens, who had been settled there by Trajan in great numbers, would be sacrificed to the fury of the barbarians. He removed, however, the upper part of the bridge over the

Danube, alleging, that the Dacians might destroy the guards, and then it would serve but to facilitate their irruptions into Mœsia.

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The liberality of Hadrian granted a double largess to the soldiers on account of his accession. He was advised by Tatianus to put to death Bæbius Macer, the præfect of the city, and two other persons, who were suspected to be hostile to his authority; but his clemency, or contempt of the supposed danger, induced him to disregard the suggestion. His suspicion, however, was so strongly excited against Lucius Quietus, that he deprived him of the Moorish troops placed under his command. Martius Turbo was appointed by him to suppress the tumults that had arisen in Mauritania. He left Antioch in order to meet the remains of Trajan, which were escorted by Tatianus, Plotina, and her niece Matilda. After paying this tribute of respect, and seeing them placed on board the vessel which was to convey them to Rome, he returned to Antioch; but as soon as he had appointed Catilius Severus to be governor of Syria, he himself commenced his journey to Rome, choosing the road through Illyricum.

Before the death of Trajan, Hadrian had been elected to one of the consulships of this year through the favour of Plotina; and he now entered upon it as emperor. On his arrival at Rome, he found the senate obedient to his wishes, and ready to pay the amplest honours both to himself, and to the memory of Trajan. They offered him the triumph which had been earned by the achievements of his predecessor; but, so far from accepting it, he ordered the image of Trajan to be carried in a triumphal car, that he might not appear (though dead) to lose the reward of his martial exploits. He refused at first

HADRIAN,
1, 2.
A. D. 118.

HADRIAN,
^{1, 2.}
 A. D. 118.

the appellation of *Father of his country*, because Augustus had not received it until a late period ; his delicacy, however, respecting honours, whether real or pretended, was soon overcome, as he appears from public inscriptions to have been invested with the same titles as other emperors. He forbore to accept from the people of Italy the presents of gold* usually made to the emperors on their accession, and relieved the inhabitants of the provinces from part of their burdens, although he declared that the finances of the empire were in a very depressed state. In the same, or the following, year, he distinguished himself by an act of unprecedented munificence ; for he remitted sums of money, which had been due to the imperial treasury for the last sixteen years, the amount of which exceeded seven millions sterling†. That the debtors might enjoy perfect security, he ordered the bonds and other deeds to be collected together, and set fire to them with his own hand in the forum of Trajan.

HADRIAN,
^{2, 3.}
 A. D. 119.

Hadrian, being invested with his third consulship, often employed himself in administering justice ; but he resigned the office at the expiration of four months, and never assumed it afterwards. Disturbances among the Sarmatians, and the Roxolani, induced him to leave Rome, and to go into Moesia, where his forces were assembled. His authority, or the terror of his arms, extorted submission from the Sarmatians. The king of the Roxolani complained of the diminution of the stipend which he received from the Romans ; for he was one of those foreign princes, whose alliance was secured by gifts. Hadrian, who by no means

* *Aurum coronarium*.

† *Novies Millies*, according to the inscription quoted by Casaubon.


disapproved of this timid and dangerous policy, listened to his demands and concluded with him an amicable arrangement.

HADRIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 119.

While the emperor was absent from Rome, the citizens were suddenly seized with consternation on hearing of the execution of Domitius Nigrinus, Lucius Quietus, Cornelius Palma, and Celsus. All four were persons of consular rank, and of distinguished character. It is affirmed by one historian, that Nigrinus was destined by Hadrian to be his successor. The martial achievements of Lucius Quietus, both in the Dacian and in the Parthian war, had gained him great favour and renown under Trajan; and, although he was but a Moorish chieftain, he was not deemed by that prince unworthy of succeeding to the imperial purple. Hadrian, however, (as has been already stated) had deprived him of his military command, and had always reckoned Palma and Celsus in the number of his avowed enemies. The crime alleged against these illustrious persons was, that Nigrinus had arranged a plan for killing Hadrian, while performing the rites of sacrifice*, and that Lucius and the others were privy to the plot. Whether guilty or not, they were put to death by order of the senate; and although the emperor protested, that the sentence was in opposition to his wishes, little credit was given to his assertions, and he was attacked with indignant censures, which all his efforts at justification never effectually silenced. The previous humanity of his conduct had not prepared the Romans for so vigorous an exercise of his authority: under the mild sway of Nerva and Trajan, the lives of the senators had been

* Dion says, *while hunting*, unless (as Casaubon supposes) *ἐν θήρῃ* is an error for *ἐν θυσίῃ*.

HADRIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 119.



scrupulously preserved from unjust violence, and there was no apparent necessity to excuse Hadrian for suddenly deviating from the benevolent example of his predecessors. Aware of the unfavourable rumours to which he was exposed, he immediately returned to Rome, having placed the province of Dacia under the command of Martius Turbo. To allay the odium excited against him, he gave a double largess to the people, and endeavoured in various ways to prove his generosity and goodwill to the senators, and to all ranks of citizens. He exhibited combats of gladiators for six successive days, and on his birth-day a thousand wild beasts were slain in the amphitheatre. On that, or some similar, occasion, the Romans were gratified with the slaughter of two hundred lions and lionesses. He swore, that he would never punish a senator, except in conformity with a decree of the senate; and he frequently declared, that in directing his government, he would remember, that the empire was not his patrimony, but the property of the Roman people.

About the same time, his two prætorian præfects, Tatianus and Similis, retired from their office, and were succeeded by Martius Turbo and Septitius Clarus. The ascendancy, which Tatianus had acquired, was so irksome to the emperor, that he is said to have entertained the design of putting him to death, but was deterred by the general indignation which had been felt on account of the execution of Nigrinus and others. He endeavoured to ascribe that unpopular action to the counsels of Tatianus, and expressed his dissatisfaction in so unequivocal a manner, that the præfect at length requested permission to resign his appointment. The services which he had performed, as guardian

of the emperor, and as one of the persons who had been instrumental in elevating him to the sovereignty, were not unrewarded. He received the consular honours, and a seat in the senate, Hadrian declaring that he had no higher dignity to bestow; for he was scrupulous in creating senators, and careful in maintaining the privileges of that body. Similis, the other præfect, was a man of eminent virtue, but of modest and retired habits, which made him consider his liberation from office as the happiest occurrence in his life. Having passed his last seven years in the enjoyment of rural quiet, he ordered, that an inscription should be placed on his tomb, signifying, that, although he had attained a great age, he had really lived but seven years.


HADRIAN,
2, 3.
A. D. 119.

The active disposition of Hadrian did not suffer him to remain long at Rome, but prompted him to undertake a series of journeys, in which he visited successively almost every province of his extensive empire. In these visits he not only gratified the curiosity with which a quick understanding and a learned taste had inspired him, but performed the duties of a sedulous and vigilant ruler; as he seldom quitted any place without projecting some useful work, reforming some abuse, or exhibiting some instance of courtesy and beneficence. The inhabitants of Campania and Gaul experienced various proofs of his liberality; and, when he came into the Germanic provinces, he resolved to correct the military discipline, and make it correspond, as far as possible, with the model established by ancient commanders. Although scrupulously careful to maintain peace with foreign nations, he practised his soldiers in all kinds of military exercises, with as much strictness as if a war was certainly impending. He made diligent investiga-

HADRIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 120.

Spartian.
Had. Vit.
Dion. lxxix.

HADRIAN,
3, 4.
A. D. 120.



tions respecting the conduct, manners, and age of his officers, and considered their merit the best claim to promotion. Brave and active soldiers were rewarded with honours; but those, who neglected their duties, encountered reproof and disgrace. The indulgences, which appeared inconsistent with the severe habits required in war, were forbidden; and a demolition was made of the arbours, the grottoes, and the covered ways, in which the soldiers shrunk from the heat, or cold, of the weather. But the emperor presented in his own person a rigid example of the temperance and fortitude which he expected in his soldiers. He often appeared in a dress devoid of the simplest ornament; he was satisfied with the ordinary food and beverage that were given to the troops; he rejected the use of any kind of chariot, but always appeared on horseback or on foot, and sometimes walked twenty miles in his military accoutrements. The inclemency of the seasons he endeavoured to set at defiance, and neither Celtic snows, nor Egyptian heats, ever constrained him to cover his head. It was considered, that the discipline of the army occupied more of his attention than that of any emperor since Augustus; and the regulations which he established by his authority and example preserved, for a long time, the force of military laws. They had the immediate effect of checking the hostilities of foreign nations, who observed, that he was fully prepared to resist every aggression, yet so reluctant to commit any, that he conciliated their favour by pecuniary gifts. It is related, that on one occasion the barbarians, seeing his cavalry swim across the Danube with their arms, were so amazed at the spectacle, that, instead of persevering in a war against the Romans, they appealed

to the emperor, and requested his arbitration in their own intestine disputes.

HADRIAN,
4, 5.
A. D. 121.

From Germany, Hadrian passed into Britain, and pursued there the system of correction and improvement, which he had commenced in other provinces. To restrain the barbarians in the north of the island, and to separate them more effectually from the people that acknowledged the sway of the Romans, he constructed a wall or rampart, the length of which was about eighty miles, and which probably extended, with some deflections, from the Solway Firth to the German Ocean. He resorted to a similar mode of defence in many other countries, where there were no rivers and natural divisions to protect the provinces from the incursions of the barbarians: large stakes were fixed in the earth, which, when connected together, presented a rude fortification, sufficient, probably, to resist the attacks of undisciplined enemies. While he was in Britain, Hadrian evinced his displeasure towards many persons who, without his orders*, had treated the empress Sabina less ceremoniously than seemed consistent with the dignity of the imperial family. He himself entertained so little affection for his wife, that he declared, that, if he had been in a private station, he would have divorced her on account of her rude and morose temper; but the offenders seem to have presumed too much upon his known sentiments, and were punished for their indiscretion. Septitius Clarus was deposed from his office of prætorian præfect; and the appointment of secretary was taken from Suetonius Tranquillus, who is known to posterity by his biography of the first twelve emperors.

On his return to Gaul, Hadrian ordered a mag-

* *Injussu ejus.*—Spartian.

HADRIAN,
4, 5.
A. D. 121.

nificent *basilica* to be built at Nemausus*, in honour of Plotina. He received intelligence that the city of Alexandria was agitated with tumults, as the people contended with superstitious zeal, where they should place the god Apis, who had lately appeared amongst them. This deity of the Egyptians was a black calf, with a white spot on his forehead, and other distinguishing marks on his back, his tail, and his tongue†. He did not always favour his worshippers with his visible presence; but, whenever he was discovered by the priests, a festival was celebrated with great joy, and he was generally conducted to the city of Memphis. It appears, however, that in the time of Hadrian, other cities claimed the honour of entertaining the quadruped divinity. When Cambyzes invaded Egypt, the appearance of Apis was a signal for the exultation of the inhabitants; but as the Persian monarch imagined, that they were insulting him on account of the failure of his expedition against the Ethiopians, he commanded the priests to bring their god to him, and with his own hand inflicted a wound which was fatal to the creature. The inhuman hatred with which the Egyptians were inflamed against each other, on account of their religious differences, is described by Juvenal‡, who, having resided among them, relates (apparently from his own knowledge) that, after a contest between the people of Ombi and Tentyra, a wretched captive was cut into small pieces, and his raw flesh greedily devoured by the sanguinary victors.

HADRIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 122.

In his journey to Spain, Hadrian was not tempted to visit Italica, although it was the city of his ancestors: it received, however, during his sovereignty,

* *Niemaes*.

† Herod. iii. 27—29.

‡ Sat. xv.

many marks of his liberality and favour. He resided some time at Tarragona, and repaired, at his own expense, the temple of Augustus. He convened there an assembly of the different people of Spain, but encountered some difficulty in the levy of troops which he required from them. Great composure and forbearance were exhibited by him in an attack which was made upon his life. As he was walking for his recreation, a slave rushed upon him with a drawn sword; but he seized the assailant, and delivered him to the attendants, who ran to his assistance; and when it was discovered that the man was mad, he committed him to the care of physicians.

HADRIAN,
5, 6.
A. D. 122.

Some disturbances in Mauritania called Hadrian into that country; but he restored tranquillity, and the senate decreed thanksgivings on account of his success. The empire was threatened with a war from its ancient enemies, the Parthians; but a conference, conducted by the emperor himself, averted the evil.

As Hadrian was constantly travelling from one province to another, and as it is almost impossible to arrange his journeys with chronological accuracy, it will be best to combine in one account the scanty particulars which relate to his visits to the same place. The ancient renown of the Athenians, and the politeness and refinement which distinguished them even in their degeneracy, were strong recommendations to a prince of taste and learning: he, therefore, frequently repeated his visits to their city, allowed himself to be nominated their archon, and seemed to take a lively interest in their festivals and religious ceremonies. He condescended to be president of their games, and was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries; thereby gratifying his

HADRIAN,
8—18.
A. D. 125—135.

HADRIAN,
8—18.
A. D. 125—135.

curiosity, while at the same time he followed the illustrious example of Hercules and Philip. It was the custom in Greece for persons to carry knives during the celebration of their sacred rites; but when Hadrian was present on such occasions, his suspicion required, that they should lay aside these dangerous weapons. In his last visit to Athens, he celebrated the Dionysia in a splendid manner, and dedicated the buildings which had been erected by his orders. A temple to the Olympian Jupiter was finished by him, and he placed in it a serpent which had been brought from India. But his own honour was not neglected: a temple called *Panhellenium*, containing the statues that had been raised to him by the different cities of Greece, was consecrated to the mortal emperor. Temples, bearing his own name*, were erected to him in Asia. In addition to large sums of money, and a yearly supply of corn, he bestowed upon the Athenians the whole island of Cephallenia, as a proof of the honourable regard which he cherished for them, or for their ancestors.

In one of his voyages he visited Sicily; but nothing more is recorded, than that he ascended Mount Etna, in order to behold from that elevated spot the beautiful phenomenon of the rising sun.

As he travelled through the Eastern provinces of the empire, he punished some of the procurators and governors with great severity, and it was believed, that the accusers were sometimes employed by his authority. Foreign princes and kings were graciously invited to accept of his friendship, and those who came to him for that purpose were treated with marked distinction. The kings of the Albanians and Iberians scorned such an act of

* Hadrianeia.

condescension; but, having been softened by his gifts, they always evinced an amicable spirit towards him. Ambassadors came from the kings of the Bactrians, and humbly solicited his friendship. The spontaneous liberality, which he had shown towards the Parthians, had the effect of preserving peace with that formidable people. After reinstating Chosroes in his kingdom, he offered him his friendship, sent back his daughter who had been captured by Trajan, and promised to restore the golden throne which was among the spoils of war. On the contrary, the people of Antioch, whose petulant and satirical genius had, probably, not spared the failings of their prince, were so offensive to him, that he is said to have meditated the plan of separating Syria from Phœnicia, in order that Antioch might lose part of its dignity, by becoming the capital of a smaller country. During his visit to that city, he ascended Mount Casius by night, in order to admire the splendour of the rising sun; but his journey was unpropitious, as the rain fell, and the lightning struck the sacrifice which (we may suppose) was offered to the tutelary Jupiter of the place,

HADRIAN,
8—18.
A. D. 125—135.

Having traversed Arabia and Palestine, as well as other countries of the East, Hadrian directed his course into Egypt. He had formerly visited Africa, and conferred many benefits on the inhabitants of its provinces, who were so much the more attached to him, as it happened, after a drought of five years, that his arrival was signalized by a fall of rain. In Egypt he observed the ruined condition of Pompey's tomb; and, reflecting upon the indignity shown to the ashes of a hero, to whom so many temples had formerly been reared, he ordered the structure to be repaired, and funeral rites to be celebrated in

HADRIAN,
8-18.
A. D. 125-135.

honour of his memory. At Alexandria, he visited the college of learned men, called the *Museum*, and not only proposed many questions to the professors, but was ready to answer those which they proposed to him. While he was sailing on the Nile, he lost the beautiful youth Antinous, a native of Bithynium, for whom he cherished an immoderate and unnatural affection. The manner of his death is enveloped in mystery. According to Hadrian's statement, he fell into the Nile; but this account was disbelieved by many of the ancients, and they affirmed, that he devoted himself for the emperor, who superstitiously imagined, that his own life would be prolonged by such a sacrifice, voluntarily undertaken. In the opinion of others, he was offered as a victim* in some execrable rites, as it was well known that Hadrian was addicted to magic, and practised all the arts of divination. Whatever may have been the cause of his death, Hadrian wept for him with womanish sorrow, and paid to his memory the most extravagant and impious honours. He enlarged the city of Besa, where he died, and ordered, that in future it should bear the name of his beloved Antinous; while statues were erected to him in almost every city of the civilized world. He was afterwards deified by the obsequious Greeks, and oracles (of which Hadrian was supposed to be the author) were delivered from his shrine. The emperor pretended to see his star in the heavens; and his unscrupulous flatterers were ready to avouch, that the luminary was the pure spirit of Antinous, and had never before been visible in the sky. But the age was superior to the belief of such puerile inventions, and even pagans could not forbear to ridicule the presumptuous folly of their emperor.

* This is the interpretation which Salmasius has put upon the expression of Dion—*ισπουγγηθεϊς*. The scene described in the 5th Epode of Horace, will recur to the memory of the learned reader.

CHAPTER II.

Hadrian issues an edict, to protect the Christians from popular fury.—Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides.—Whether the Hadrianeia were ever designed for the worship of Christ.—The Jews revolt against Hadrian, and acknowledge Barcochebas as their King and Messiah.—After a sanguinary war of nearly three years, they are compelled to submit.—Incursions of the Alani.—Hadrian's liberality to the Iberian king.—Hadrian regulates the religious ceremonies, and establishes schools of learning.—Attacked with illness, and deliberates on the choice of a successor.—Adopts L. Verus, retires to Tibur, and puts to death Servianus and other citizens.—L. Verus directs the affairs of Pannonia.—The weakness of his constitution, and his sudden death.—Hadrian adopts Titus Antoninus.—Discontent of Catilius Severus, præfect of the city.—Death of the empress Sabina.—Hadrian, tormented with pain, attempts to destroy himself, and at last dies at Baïæ.—The senators wish to disgrace his memory, but are dissuaded by Antoninus.—Hadrian alters the civil polity of the Romans, and publishes the Perpetual Edict.—Various laws established by him.—His learning and accomplishments; his fastidiousness, envy, wit, curiosity, &c.—His exterior.—The principal writers of his age.

ALTHOUGH Hadrian was addicted to idolatry, and the most superstitious rites of the heathen worship, yet he ought not to be classed among those princes,

HADRIAN,
9.
A. D. 125-6.

HADRIAN, ^{9.} who exerted their power for the oppression of the infant Church. The Christians were certainly attacked, during his reign, by the malicious fury of their enemies; but there is no evidence that the aggressions, to which they were exposed, were either openly encouraged, or secretly tolerated, by the authority of the emperor. The edict of Trajan had so far restrained the persecutors of the Church, that they were obliged to submit to the formalities of a legal accusation, before they could obtain the condemnation of any Christian, at the tribunal of

^{9.}
A. D. 125-6.
Buseb. iv. 8, 9, a magistrate. Averse to the tedious restrictions of justice, they discovered a more expeditious method of gratifying their malevolent rage. During the celebration of the heathen games, they instigated the populace to demand, in a tumultuous manner, the execution of the unoffending Christians; and the magistrates, intimidated by their violent clamours, were often constrained to submit to a requisition which they knew to be unjust. Granianus, proconsul of Asia, and some other governors, complained to the emperor of this dangerous custom, by which the laws of justice and good order were daringly violated; and if any persons had presumed, that the superstition of Hadrian would induce him to sanction the persecution of his Christian subjects, they were soon rendered sensible of their error*. In a rescript, sent to Minucius Fundanus, who had succeeded Granianus in the pro-consulship of Asia, he declared, that Christians were not to be put to death in compliance with the tumultuous demands of the people; that if any one could prove in an open and legal manner, that they

* It was the opinion of St. Jerome, that the persecution arose principally from Hadrian's attachment to the ceremonies of the Greeks, and his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, tom. ii. : *Persécution de l'Eglise sous Adrian*.

had infringed the laws, they were to be condemned for the offence; but that whoever accused them with wanton calumny should be punished for his malice.

HADRIAN,
9.
A. D. 125-6.

This edict might be ascribed to Hadrian's sentiments of equity, which generally prevailed, when there was no personal motive to bias his decisions; but it is believed, that he was induced to form a favourable opinion of the Christian religion by the *Apologies* of Quadratus and Aristides, which were presented to him in the year 126. The work of Quadratus is highly commended by St. Jerome, and was the first in that species of composition, which has since exercised the talents of many pious writers. Considerable learning and eloquence were displayed in the *Apology* of Aristides, who was an Athenian, and had chosen the profession of a philosopher, before he was converted to the Christian faith.

Hier. de Vir.
Illust. Ep. 84.

There is a remarkable passage in Lampridius*, which states, that Hadrian, as well as Alexander Severus, had wished to erect a temple to Christ, and to enrol him in the number of the gods; but that he was diverted from his purpose by the counsel of certain persons, who informed him, that, if he persisted in his design, all his subjects would become Christians, and the heathen temples would be forsaken. This account, coming from a writer of the fourth century, who is not supported by the authority of earlier historians, cannot be considered as entitled to our unhesitating belief. It is certain,

* Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos recipere. Quod et Adrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris fieri jussit: quæ hodiè, idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur *Adriani*: quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur; sed prohibitus est ab iis, qui, consulentes sacra, repererant omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, et templa reliqua deserenda.—*Vit. Alex. c. 43.*

HADRIAN,
9.
A. D. 125-6.

from his expressions, that he merely recorded an opinion current in his own age, when it was assumed that the *Hadrianeia* were intended for the worship of Christ, because no statues had been placed in them. But, if we reflect upon the vain and superstitious character of Hadrian, it will appear more probable, that those temples were designed to commemorate the name and honour of the emperor himself; that he hoped to enjoy the triumph of consecrating his own statues in them, or expected, that the office would be performed by the gratitude of his successor. His illness, and various other causes, may have prevented the complete execution of his project*; and when Christianity extended its power under his successors, it may have been the surmise of its friends or its enemies, that temples, which were so novel to the idolatrous heathen, might have been designed for the more spiritual worship of Christians. If Hadrian had ever been induced to pay homage to Christ, it is scarcely credible that he would have paid it to Christ alone: he would rather have incorporated him among the gods of his multifarious creed; and it certainly will not detract from the dignity of our religion, if the list of its converts cannot present the name of a prince, who loved and deified Antinous.

HADRIAN,
18—20.
A. D. 134-6.
Dion. lxi.
Euseb. iv. 6.
Euseb. Chr.
Spartian.

But, whatever may have been his sentiments respecting the Christians, it is certain that he was inflamed with the deepest hatred and resentment against the Jews. The turbulent spirit of that people, which had manifested itself during the last years of Trajan, was excited to a still more violent and systematic resistance, in proportion to the insults by which they were incensed. It appears from a short sentence of Spartianus, that they were

* Vide Casaubon's notes on Lampridius.

forbidden to practise circumcision*; and this prohibition of their initiatory rite might be interpreted by them as an interdict upon all the ordinances of their religion. Their feelings of piety and patriotism were deeply wounded, when they observed that in the place of their beloved Jerusalem a new city was reared, with the profane name of *Ælia Capitolina*; and that, where the God of Abraham had been worshipped for so many centuries, a temple was raised to the Jupiter of the Romans. These outrages impelled them to try the hazards of a perilous war; and, according to the narrative of Dion, the calamities which were coming upon them were portended by omens, and especially by the sudden fall of the tomb of Solomon, effected without any visible cause. The ardour of political zeal was inflamed by fanaticism; for an impostor, named Barcochebas, who pretended to be the star predicted by Balaam†, was declared to be their Messiah as well as king. The rancour of his hostility was naturally directed against the Christians, who could neither acknowledge his spiritual pretensions, nor consent to aid him in his projects of rebellion.


HADRIAN,
18—20.
A. D. 134—6.

The presence of Hadrian in Egypt and Syria constrained the Jews to disguise their hostile plans: they prepared, however, for their execution, by purposely fabricating in an unskilful manner the arms which they were required to manufacture, in order that the rejected weapons might be reserved for their own use. When Hadrian was at a distance from their country, they rose in open rebellion. As they did not intend to encounter the Romans in regular engagements, they seized upon the places

* Videtur legibus Domitiani, Nervæ, et Hadriani, quibus vetita *circumcisio*, id est, marium eviratio, etiam circumcisiioni fibula esse imposita.—Cassaub. *note on Spart.*

† Numb. xxiv. 17.

HADRIAN,
18—20.
A.D. 134—6.



where they could most effectually defend themselves; they raised walls and fortifications, dug mines, and subterraneous places of retreat, which were perforated for the admission of light and air. Their movements were at first regarded with contemptuous indifference; but it was soon discovered, that not only all Judæa was agitated with revolt, but that the Jews in every other part of the empire co-operated in open or secret acts of aggression against the Romans, and that many strangers had been induced from interested motives to favour their designs. When Hadrian was sensible of the formidable extent of the rebellion, he considered it requisite to employ the talents of Julius Severus, one of his most skilful generals, who was summoned from the shores of Britain to take the command of the legions in Palestine. It was necessary to regulate operations with cautious forbearance, as the enemy was not only numerous, but impelled by a reckless courage. Severus, therefore, refrained from attacking them, except in detached bodies; but by confining them within their walls, and intercepting their supplies, he reduced them to such extremities, that few finally escaped destruction. In a war, which was protracted about three years, Bether and nearly fifty other strong places were reduced; nine hundred and eighty-five towns were destroyed; five hundred and eighty thousand of the insurgents perished in different engagements, besides numbers, not calculated, who were consumed by fire, famine, and disease. Many of the Romans fell in the various scenes of carnage; and at one time the prospect of the war appeared so discouraging, that Hadrian, in writing to the senate, omitted the usual epistolary preface of the emperors: "If ye and your children are well, I and my troops

are well also." The result of the rebellion was, that Judæa was nearly desolated; Ælia continued to usurp the name of Jerusalem; and the Jews who presumed to enter it were to forfeit their lives for their temerity. Their most sacred places were wantonly profaned by idols. According to St. Jerome and other writers, the places revered by the Christians were condemned to the same indignity; and if we give credit to their accounts, we shall be less disposed to admit the supposition of those who have affirmed, that Hadrian desired at one time to offer public honour to the name of Christ.

HADRIAN,
18—20.
A. D. 134-6.

Hier. Ep. xiii.

Several parts of Asia were disturbed by the hostile incursions of the Alani. The country of Media was exposed to their furious ravages. Armenia and Cappadocia would have been overrun by these barbarians, if the gifts of Vologeses, and the arms of Flavius Arrian, had not restrained their progress. Vologeses is supposed to have been the king of Armenia, and Arrian was the Roman governor of Cappadocia.

Dion. lxi.
Spartian.

Ambassadors from Vologeses and from the people of the Iazyges came to Rome, and were introduced into the senate by the emperor himself, who also composed and read the answers which they received. The ratification of peace was the object of the embassy sent by the Iazyges: Vologeses complained of certain acts of Pharasmanes, who was king either of the Iberians or the Alani. The Iberian king of that name came to Rome with his wife, and received extraordinary marks of the emperor's munificence and favour. His territories were increased; he was permitted to sacrifice in the Capitol, and an equestrian statue was raised to him in the temple of Bellona. An exchange of

HADRIAN,
18—20.
A. D. 134—6.

various presents took place; but some military cloaks*, which Hadrian received from his barbarian guest, excited his contempt, and he ordered three hundred criminals, arrayed in a similar costume, to be exhibited in the amphitheatre.

HADRIAN,
18, 19.
A. D. 135.
Aur. Vict. 14.
Vict. Epit. 14.
Dion. lxi.
Spartian.

When Hadrian returned to Rome after his various travels, his love of the Greek customs displayed itself in his regulation of sacred rites and ceremonies, and in his public encouragement of arts and learning. The Romans were taught to revere the Eleusinian mysteries, and apparently to imitate them in their own capital†. Gymnasia, with their necessary instructors, were fostered by the care of the emperor; and he established a school for the cultivation of liberal arts, under the name of *Atheneum*.

His presumption in the natural strength of his constitution probably deceived him; for after travelling in the most opposite climates, without deigning to protect his head from rain, cold, or heat, he became the victim of a wasting disease, which anticipated by many years the regular decay of old age. A flux of blood from his nose, to which he was subject, increased with such violence, that he felt all his bodily energies declining, and did not cherish the vain hope that his life would be prolonged. The appointment of a successor, which he had hitherto delayed, became the urgent subject of his anxious reflections. Of the persons who appeared worthy of so exalted a dignity, Servianus, his brother-in-law, and Fuscus, his grand-nephew, were recommended by the ties of affinity. Pletorius Nepos had enjoyed the most intimate friendship of the emperor; and Terentius Gentianus had acquired the esteem of the senate. But the pre-

* *Auratas chlamydes*.

† See *Victor*, and the note of *Anna*.

tensions of all these persons were finally rejected, and Hadrian fixed his choice upon Lucius Aurelius Verus, who was rendered attractive to him by the beauty and graces of his exterior.

HADRIAN,
18, 19.
A. D. 135.

The father of Verus was Ceionius Commodus, whose names he also bore: his ancestors were eminent for nobility and rank, and, on the paternal side, were chiefly of Etrurian origin. A dignified countenance, and all the charms that arise from elegance and proportion of body, were not the only claims that Verus could offer to the admiration of the Romans. He was well instructed in literature, could express his thoughts with eloquence, and was not unskilled in poetry. But, with all his accomplishments, he was little better than a refined voluptuary. He is said to have been the first to concoct a dish of meat, consisting of pheasant and three or four* other ingredients, and which was highly agreeable to the palate of Hadrian himself. His ingenious sensuality also induced him to contrive a peculiar kind of bed, on which he used to recline amidst roses and lilies, while he was scented with the perfumes of the east. The amorous books of Ovid, and the licentious epigrams of Martial, were the writings most congenial to his taste. His couriers were often adorned with the wings of cupids, and distinguished with the appellations of Boreas, Notus, and other winds; and, as if they were really those ærial beings, he rigidly exacted from them unwearied service. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that the citizens were dissatisfied at seeing a person of so dissolute a character invested with the dignity of *Cæsar*, and receiving the name of *Ælius* on account of his

* Spartianus calls it *tetrapharmacum seu potius pentapharmacum*.—Vit. Veri.

HADRIAN,
18, 19.
A. D. 135.

adoption by the emperor. Games, however, were exhibited to conciliate their applause, and a large donative was bestowed upon both the soldiers and the people. Verus was immediately created prætor, and sent to take the command in Pannonia. To confer greater authority upon the new Cæsar, he was destined to hold a consulship both in the next year, and the year following.

HADRIAN,
19, 20.
A. D. 136.

Hadrian, delivered from the suspense which harassed his mind respecting the appointment of a successor, endeavoured to find repose in the shades of Tibur. In that favourite retreat of the Romans, he built a villa of great extent, and extraordinary construction. The different parts of it were named from the most celebrated places which he admired, one being called Lyceum, another Canopus, and a third Tempe; while his imagination, wandering beyond terrestrial scenes, gave to a portion of it the denomination of the infernal regions. In a palace, presenting so many diversified appearances, he indulged his taste for paintings and statues; he arranged, though probably he could not enjoy, the festivities of the banquet, and resigned himself to every luxury, that power could command, and wantonness desire. But like Tiberius, in the midst of sensual pleasures, he gratified the malevolent and sanguinary spirit of a tyrant. Those persons, who had been unfortunately distinguished as fit to succeed him, became the objects of his suspicion and hatred. Neither the youth of Fuscus, who was but eighteen years old, nor the age of Servianus, who had attained his ninetieth year, excited the emperor's commiseration: both were put to death. Before Servianus submitted to his fate, he burnt incense to the gods, invoking them to bear witness, that he had committed no offence; and he

prayed that Hadrian, though he desired it, might not have the power to die. A mutual, but concealed, jealousy had probably rankled for a long time in the bosoms of Hadrian and his brother-in-law; for Servianus had endeavoured to obstruct Hadrian in his attempts to acquire Trajan's favour; and Trajan, in the unreserved moments of convivial pleasure, had pointedly declared, that Servianus was worthy of the imperial power. As Hadrian's malady increased, it irritated the malignity of his disposition, and many of the citizens were openly put to death, or insidiously destroyed.

HADRIAN,
19, 20,
A. D. 136.

The affairs of Pannonia were directed by L. Verus with general success, and he gained the reputation of exerting moderate, if not consummate, ability in the duties of a commander. But his talents, though they might have risen above mediocrity, were not destined to influence the fate of the empire; for his bodily powers were exhausted by sickness or pleasure, and he was too feeble even to manage his shield with military adroitness. When Hadrian was aware of his debilitated constitution, he remarked with more facetiousness than sorrow: "I have adopted a *god*, and not a son." At another time he regretted, that he had trusted to a tottering wall, and had lavished millions* of money in useless donatives, on account of the new Cæsar. The freedom with which he expressed his dissatisfaction induced many persons to believe, that he would cancel the adoption, and choose a more vigorous successor than L. Verus. But if he ever meditated such an act, it soon became unnecessary.

HADRIAN,
20, 21.
A. D. 137.

Verus, having returned from his province, had prepared an oration, in which he was to express his

* In the life of Hadrian, by Spartianus, we read *quater millies*, in that of Verus, *ter millies*. Casaubon and Salmassius do not agree which is the right sum.

HADRIAN,
21.
A. D. 138.

thanks to the emperor on the first day of January; and this composition, which was afterwards published, was greatly admired for its beauty, although it is not certain that it was the produce of his own talent. He took a strong potion to invigorate himself for the important occasion; but when the day arrived, it was found that the Cæsar had expired in his sleep, and that a copious effusion of blood had produced, or was simultaneous with, the catastrophe. The citizens were excused by Hadrian from the parade of mourning, because the first days of the year were devoted to the offering of public vows, and it was considered inauspicious to disturb such a ceremony with any demonstrations of grief. In other respects his funeral was conducted with the honours usually paid to imperial rank. Hadrian commanded that statues should be erected to him in all parts of the empire, and, in some cities, temples also were built in honour of his name. L. Verus was the first person who received the appellation of Cæsar, as distinct from that of Augustus, and as the peculiar title of one, who was the acknowledged heir of the imperial power. His wife, by whom he had a son that survived him, was the daughter of Nigrinus, who had been executed under pretence of conspiring against Hadrian's life.

The Romans, who were sincerely anxious for the welfare of their country, could not regret the death of L. Verus, as it led to the adoption of a person far better qualified to fulfil the arduous duties of government. Among the senators, from whom Hadrian was to select another Cæsar, he observed Titus Antoninus carefully supporting the feeble steps of his father-in-law*. This act of

* Victor writes, *soceri aut genitoris*: but Spartianus and Capitolinus determine that it was his father-in-law.

duteous attention might have conciliated the favour, but could hardly have determined the choice, of the emperor. Knowing, however, that Antoninus was adorned with the highest qualities, that he was prudent, humane, and experienced in business, he declared his wish to adopt him, and allowed him a certain time to deliberate upon the proposals which were made to him ; for Antoninus, having no sons, was required to adopt his nephew, Marcus Aurelius, and L. Verus, the son of the late Cæsar. As he did not reject an offer so alluring even to a mind actuated only by sentiments of honourable ambition, he was adopted on the twenty-fifth of February, and returned thanks in the senate for the dignity to which he was exalted. He was made the emperor's colleague both in the proconsular and tribunitian power.

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As the most eminent merit is seldom universally acknowledged, the adoption of Antoninus was viewed by many persons with envious dissatisfaction, and especially by Catilius Severus, the præfect of the city, who had ambitiously designed the sovereignty for himself. As soon as his projects were known, he was deprived of his office.

Among the cruelties imputed to Hadrian in his last days, it was believed by many persons, that he poisoned his unfortunate wife, Sabina, or compelled her to put herself to death. It is not questioned, that she experienced from him the most contumelious treatment ; as he complained of her moroseness, she complained of his ferocity, and avowed, that she had resorted to expedients to save the human race from being afflicted by the offspring of Hadrian*. She was the daughter of Matidia, and grand-daughter of Marciana, the sister of Trajan.

* Elaborasse, ne ex eo ad humani generis perniciem gravidaretur.—Vict. Ept. 14.

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The disease of Hadrian terminated in dropsy, which was alleviated for a time by medical skill, but soon attacked him with accumulated force. Dion attributes the relief to the power of magical arts, and it is not improbable that the superstitious patient tried such experiments for the mitigation of his pains. The virulence of the disorder at length overcame all his fortitude, and the imprecation of the dying Servianus was fulfilled: Hadrian wished to die, and could not. Tortured with pain in all his limbs, and raging with uncontrollable agony, he besought one person to give him poison, and another to transfix him with the sword; but every one recoiled with fear from performing so dangerous a service, although money was offered, and impunity promised, by the emperor. His physician, wearied by his entreaties to administer poison to him, put himself to death. A barbarian captive, named Mastor, whose strength and courage Hadrian had admired in the chase, was induced by his threats and promises to undertake the office of stabbing him in a particular part of the breast; but, when the critical moment came, he shrunk from his engagement, and Hadrian, exasperated with grief and disappointment, lamented, that, although he could take away the lives of others, he had not the power to terminate his own. Antoninus watched him with filial assiduity and care, declaring that he should be guilty of parricide, if he suffered the emperor, who had adopted him, to perish by the hands of others. He endeavoured, also, to prevent the sanguinary effects of his ungoverned rage; for Hadrian, infuriated by his sufferings, and imagining that he was an object of derision to the senators, ordered many of them to be put to death. His last days were spent at Baiaë. Finding that he was precluded

from other means of shortening his torments, he began to be regardless of diet, and aggravated his disorder by indulging in any kind of beverage or food. He expired on the tenth day of July, uttering a proverbial saying, "Many physicians have killed the King." The illness, which he bore with so much fretful impatience, had not injured his mental powers, as he is said to have composed before his death those well-known lines :


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*Animula vagula, blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis,
Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos ?*

Hadrian lived sixty-two years and five months; and the imperial power was enjoyed by him twenty years, and nearly eleven months. He was buried at first in the villa of Cicero at Puteoli; but his remains were afterwards carried to Rome, and deposited in the tomb which he had ordered to be built near the Ælian bridge on the Tiber—which tomb has been converted by the modern Romans into the castle of St. Angelo. As the sepulchre of Augustus was full, it was necessary for Hadrian to provide another receptacle for the ashes of the imperial family.

The remembrance of the blood which Hadrian had shed at the beginning of his reign was quickened in the minds of the senators, by the cruelties which he had committed during his last illness; and his conduct appeared so odious to them, that they wished to annul his acts, and to refuse him the honour of deification, which had been conferred on so many unworthy princes. But Antoninus was impelled by a regard for his own reputation to soothe their anger, and prevent the execution of their offensive designs. When other arguments

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appeared ineffectual, he declared, that he could not assume the imperial functions; for if they intended to rescind the acts of Hadrian, his adoption, being included in the number, was necessarily void. He also produced many of those persons, whom he had ventured to conceal and protect from the rage of Hadrian, who had ordered them to be executed; and so joyous and unexpected a scene gave irresistible weight to his entreaties, and procured for the deceased emperor the name and dignity of *Divus*.

If the Romans could have forgotten those short periods, in which Hadrian suffered himself to indulge a fierce and sanguinary spirit, they would have found no reason to condemn him as a prince unmindful of their interests, or regardless of the stability of the empire. In his general mode of government, he was active, vigilant, and discerning, prompt in correcting abuses, and fearless in establishing improvements. It is certain that he introduced great alterations in the civil polity of the Romans, although the details of his various changes are not recorded by ancient historians*. We are informed by Spartianus, that he appointed four consular persons to administer justice throughout Italy. The Epitome of Victor alludes to very extensive reformatations; as it states, that in the offices of court, in the discipline of the army, and in all public affairs, Hadrian established the system which was observed for several centuries, with the exception of the changes introduced by Constantine. In the year 131 a new code of laws, digested by the skill and experience of Salvius Julianus, had been published by the authority of the

* For an account of Roman jurisprudence, the 44th chap. of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, may be perused.

emperor, under the title of the Perpetual Edict; and this great work was intended to supersede the partial and variable edicts of the prætors, which were issued every year, and to secure the important blessings of justice by one uniform and consistent course of jurisdiction.

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Several of Hadrian's minor regulations have Spartian. been noticed by his Latin biographer. He allowed the children of proscribed citizens to retain a twelfth part of their paternal estates. Accusations respecting the crime of *majestas*, which informers had found to be the readiest instrument of cruelty and oppression, were not received by him. Like Augustus, he refused to inherit the property of those who were unknown to him; neither did he accept that of his friends, if they had any sons. If any one had the good fortune to find a treasure on his own ground, he might keep possession of it; if he found it on the ground of another person, he was to surrender one half to him; and if on public ground, the same portion was assumed by the emperor. Citizens, who had wasted their estates by extravagance and luxury, were exposed to ridicule, and beaten in the amphitheatre. Whenever Hadrian was in Italy, he wore the toga; and he commanded that the senators and knights should always wear that dress in public, unless they were returning from supper. He would not allow waggons heavily laden to enter Rome, nor persons to ride on horseback in cities. No one, except invalids, was to resort to the public baths before two o'clock. Upon the subject of bathing, the Romans had greatly degenerated from the modesty of their ancestors. For Plutarch relates, that Cato, the censor, refused to bathe with his son, and that even sons-in-law forbore to bathe with their

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fathers-in-law ; but the Greeks taught the Romans to be less punctilious, and, at last, to adopt the indecent custom of allowing persons of both sexes to bathe promiscuously. It was one of Hadrian's laws, that men and women should not bathe together, but his authority was not sufficient to abolish the licentious practice. His regulations respecting slaves indicated a greater spirit of justice and philanthropy, than the Romans had ever before shown to that unfortunate class. He would not permit them to be put to death by the sole authority of their masters, but they were to be condemned by the judges, if they had committed crimes that deserved extreme punishment. He mitigated the cruelty of the ancient law, which enacted, that, if a master was killed in his house, all his slaves should be executed: he considered it sufficient to put to torture those only, who had been near enough to observe and prevent the crime. He suppressed the *ergastula*, which the Romans had upon their estates, and which were not only work-houses and prisons for their slaves, but were sometimes used as places of concealment for free persons, who were either forcibly carried into them, or there sought refuge from the evils which threatened them without. Hadrian, also, did not suffer slaves to be sold, except in a public and formal manner, to fencers, and others* who would employ them in a disgraceful mode of living.

Hadrian's accomplishments were so various, that there was scarcely any province of learning or art, in which he had not endeavoured to excel. He composed verses of all kinds, amatory, satirical, and serious ; he wrote also in prose, and commanded some of his freedmen to publish his works in their

* Lenoni.

names. The memoirs of his own life, which he had compiled, were probably published under the name of Phlegon. His taste in literature was not in exact accordance with that of his contemporaries, nor of modern critics. He admired in general the ancient style of writing, preferring Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, and Cælius to Sallust; but the greatest paradox of all was, that he considered Antimachus to be a superior poet to Homer. His memory was wonderfully retentive, so that the names of persons which he had once heard, and the contents of books which he had once read, were easily remembered by him. He is said to have possessed the faculty of dividing his attention to such a degree, that he could, at the same time, write, dictate, listen, and confer with his friends; but a wise man, burdened with the cares of an extensive empire, would not often try his mind with so many simultaneous labours. Geometry, and the arts of painting and sculpture, exercised the talents of Hadrian; nor did he disdain to show his skill in singing, or in playing upon musical instruments. But his lighter accomplishments did not impair the vigour of his mind, nor the activity of his body. No one was more skilful in the use of all kinds of arms, or took greater pleasure in the fatigues and perils of the chase. It was a common occurrence (if we may credit Spartianus) for the emperor to kill a lion with his own hand; and he built a town in Mysia, named *Hadrianothéra*, because he had there been successful in hunting, and had slain a bear. His horses and dogs were honoured with tombs when they died; and a poetical epitaph of sixteen lines, which was composed for his favourite steed Borysthenes, is still extant.

Hadrian's learning and skill made him severely

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critical in judging of the attainments of others. Considering himself far more accomplished than any of the philosophers and professors, he depreciated all their acquirements, and witnessed the display of their talents with fastidious contempt. He delighted to confound them with embarrassing questions; and, when he was engaged with any disputant, he was always ready to return argument for argument, joke for joke, and even to prolong the contest by the publication of verses, or disquisitions in prose. His antagonists were sometimes too well skilled in the arts of adulation, to be eager for fruitless victory. Favorinus, when corrected by him for the use of a word which he deemed improper, pretended to be convinced of his error; and in reply to his friends, who blamed him for yielding to Hadrian, when the use of the word was justified by good authors, the courtly sophist remarked; "If you are wise, you will allow me to believe, that the person, who commands thirty legions, is the most learned in all the world." Although Hadrian was elated by the intellectual superiority which he ascribed to himself, yet, in general, he bestowed the most liberal patronage upon men of talent. Professors of all denominations were distinguished with honours, and rewarded with wealth. The philosophers Epictetus and Heliodorus, and the sophist Favorinus, enjoyed a close familiarity with the emperor; and grammarians, rhetoricians, musicians, geometricians, painters, and astrologers, were all encouraged by his condescension and favour. Teachers, who appeared unfit for the duties which they had undertaken, were dismissed from their profession, but were secured by his bounty from indigence and contempt.

His desire of excelling in so many arts and accomplishments often inspired him with envy at the

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admiration paid to the merit of others; and for this reason some of the most eminent citizens were traduced and degraded by him, while others were even put to death. Dionysius, a sophist of Miletus, was one whom he wished to disparage, especially as he had offended him by the observation, "That the emperor might bestow riches and honours upon a man, but could not make him an orator." But his greatest act of cruelty (to which he was incited by malignant envy) was perpetrated against Apollodorus. This celebrated architect had been employed by Trajan to construct his forum, odeum, and many other works; and in some conversation with that emperor, being provoked by an irrelevant remark of Hadrian, he bade him go and paint pompions, for he did not understand the subject of building. This sarcastic allusion to a work, on which Hadrian was at that time employing his pencil, was not forgotten in the plenitude of his power. About the year 130, when he was going to erect the Temple of Venus at Rome, he sent a design of the work to Apollodorus, expecting that it could not fail to extort the reluctant praise, even of an adversary. But the unfortunate architect, who had too much penetration to overlook faults, and too much candour to conceal them, severely censured the proportions of the building and the statues, observing, that if the goddesses wished to rise and quit the temple, they would not be able. His free remarks inflicted the most painful humiliation upon the emperor, who was sensible, that he had committed an error which it was too late to correct. To indulge his anger, offences were alleged against Apollodorus, who was first sent into exile, and afterwards killed. The architect in some measure had provoked the fate which overtook him. Spartianus observes, that those who were Hadrian's

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enemies, when he was a private individual, were generously forgiven by him as emperor. After his elevation to absolute power, he significantly declared to a person who had grievously offended him, "Thou hast escaped."

Hadrian's accomplishments were enlivened by wit, and many instances of his facetiousness were current among the Romans. He had rejected the suit of a certain petitioner, who was grey-headed; the same person, after dying his hair, renewed his application to the emperor, who replied to him, "I have already refused *your father*." Although Ausonius ascribes this witticism to the courtesan Lais, yet Salmasius* maintains, that the poet borrowed it from Hadrian, who ought to be considered as the rightful author. Hadrian, who did not think the most unrestrained intercourse with the people derogatory to his rank, often condescended to bathe in public with the meanest citizens. He noticed one day a veteran, whose military services were not unknown to him, rubbing his back and limbs against the wall; and upon enquiring into the man's condition, he was informed, that he could not pay a slave to perform the friction, and other offices which the ancients considered indispensable to the bath. The emperor's liberality soon supplied the soldier's wants; but on another occasion, when several old men hoped to excite his compassion by rubbing their bodies against the marble, he ordered them to be called out, and, while they were eagerly expecting his bounty, bade them go and *rub one another*.

Hadrian's restlessness of disposition betrayed him into habits of unbecoming curiosity. There was nothing so little, as to be considered beneath his attention; and nothing so secret, but he would

* Not. Spartan.

attempt to withdraw the veil from it. By means of his agents, he was acquainted with the private behaviour of his friends, and other eminent citizens. A person who had received from his wife a letter, in which she reproached him for being too fond of the baths, and too much addicted to pleasure, had occasion to appear before the emperor, who accused him of the same faults, and almost in the same terms. "What," exclaimed the astonished citizen, "has my wife written to you in the same style, that she wrote to me?" Curiosity, immoderately indulged, naturally produced suspicion and distrust; and as there was no whisper of detraction and malice to which Hadrian did not willingly lend his ear, those very persons, who at one time were regarded as his warmest friends, were afterwards punished as his most dangerous enemies.

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Upon the whole, Hadrian exhibited in his character the highest versatility of talent, and the greatest mutability of conduct. In every kind of knowledge, and attainment, that dignifies the station of a prince, or exalts the character of a private citizen, he possessed the facility of excelling; but from his eagerness to extend the range of his acquirements, he naturally rendered them superficial and imperfect. Although he was thoroughly acquainted with the important duties required of a sovereign, and in general was ready to perform them, yet his principles were not stable enough to preserve him in a regular and uniform course of virtue. Candour and dissimulation, liberality and parsimony, courtesy and asperity, clemency and cruelty, were the heterogeneous qualities that exhibited themselves at different seasons in his character. Impartial observers, therefore, might pronounce, without undue harshness, that the softer virtues were only assumed

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by him, and that vain glory, though often too feeble to resist his stern and selfish passions, was the principal foundation of all his excellences, real or apparent.

Hadrian seemed to be adapted by the hand of nature for all martial and courtly exercises; for he was both tall and strong, and yet gracefully formed. His hair was generally combed with art; and his beard was suffered to grow, in order to conceal some natural blemishes, which disfigured his face.

Of the Latin writers who flourished in the age of Hadrian, Suetonius is the most distinguished; and his *Lives of the twelve Cæsars*, though written without chronological order, and destitute of that becoming reserve imposed upon the descriptions of modern authors, present a remarkable picture of human nature, when corrupted by absolute power. The *Epitome of Roman History*, written by Florus, adds little to the information or pleasure of the reader.

It reflected honour upon Hadrian, that he did not shrink from the friendship of Epictetus (the ornament of the Stoic philosophy) whose celebrated *Enchiridion* is one of the brightest specimens of heathen morality. His disciple Arrian (several of whose works are extant) is supposed to have been invested with the consulship, and to have been governor of Cappadocia.

Plutarch, although some have represented him as the preceptor of Trajan, may be properly referred to the age of Hadrian. The details which he collected respecting the lives of the most eminent men of antiquity could, scarcely, be all authentic; but they have proved so interesting, that he has been honoured with a more extensive perusal in modern times, than perhaps any other Greek or Roman author has been able to command.

THE EMPEROR TITUS ANTONINUS.

CHAPTER I.

The family of Titus Antoninus.—The dignity with which Antoninus bore all civil offices.—Receives the appellation of Pius from the senate.—His liberality.—Honours the memory of Hadrian, and accepts the honours paid to his own family.—Averse to change in the appointment of governors, and officers of state.—His benevolent care of the provinces.—Restrains his ministers, but pays great deference to the senate and people.—His lenity towards conspirators.—Engages in none but defensive wars.—Possesses great authority over foreign nations.—His humanity.—His easy and condescending behaviour.—His simple mode of life.—His scrupulous attention to financial and other affairs.—Gives his daughter to Marcus Aurelius.—Faustina dies, and is deified by the Senate.—The works undertaken by Antoninus.—Earthquakes and other calamities.—Antoninus protects the Christians.—Dies and is sincerely regretted by the Romans.—His exterior.—Justin, Appian, Ptolemy.

THE writer who has to explore the sources of ancient history will often lament, that his materials are by no means proportioned to his subject ; and that the greatest ravages have been committed by time upon

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ANTONINUS, the memorials of those illustrious persons, with whose
 1.
 A. D. 138. actions he would desire to be most accurately acquainted. To furnish the life of Titus Antoninus, one of the most virtuous of the Roman emperors, we have scarcely any other records than the short narrative of Julius Capitolinus, the mutilated account of Dion, and the meagre abridgements of the two Victors and Eutropius.

Capit.

The adopted son and successor of Hadrian bore the names of Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Antoninus, to which was afterwards added the cognomen of *Pius*. His father's family was ancient, and originally seated at Nemausus, now Nismes, in Transalpine Gaul; but the later generations resided at Lanuvium in the Latin territory. Both his grandfathers, Titus Aurelius Fulvius and Arrius Antoninus, were persons of considerable distinction. The former had enjoyed two consulships, and been made præfect of the city: the latter, also, had been twice consul, and was so impressed with the vanity and instability of human grandeur, that he avowed his commiseration for Nerva, when he was invested with the imperial power. Aurelius Fulvius and Arria Fadilla were the parents of Antoninus, who was born on the 19th of September, in the year 86, at a villa near Lanuvium. It is probable that the father, who is described as a man of pure and upright conduct, died before his son arrived at the age of maturity; for we are informed, that Titus had a step-father, Julius Lupus, of consular rank, and that he was educated under the joint care of his two grandfathers at Lorium in Etruria, about twelve miles from Rome. He was sedulous in cultivating the regard of those to whom he was allied, and was rewarded by inheriting the property of his step-father, and of many other relatives.

Antoninus, emulating the virtues of his ancestors, bore all the civil offices with great dignity. After displaying his liberality as quæstor and prætor, he was elevated to the consulship in the fourth year of Hadrian; he was also selected by that emperor as one of the four consular persons, to whom the government of Italy might be confided. When he was invested with the proconsulate of Asia, he acquired so much renown, that he was considered to have surpassed even the virtues of his grandfather Arrius Antoninus, who is extolled in one of Pliny's epistles for the admirable integrity with which he filled the same office. After discharging his proconsular duties, Antoninus was often admitted to the councils of Hadrian; and whenever he delivered his opinion, he always inclined to the side of gentleness and clemency. It is obvious, therefore, that Hadrian was acquainted with his virtues, long before he resolved to adopt him as his successor.

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The circumstances connected with that adoption, by right of which he quietly inherited the imperial power, have been already related. One of the first acts of the senate was to bestow upon him the appellation of *Pius*, and various reasons have been assigned for the choice of this honourable epithet. Some supposed, that it was given to him for his courteous attention to his aged father-in-law; others, for his vigilance in preventing Hadrian from putting himself to death; or for his humanity in preserving the lives of the citizens, whom that emperor during his illness had ordered to be killed; or for the persevering resolution with which he claimed divine honours for his adoptive father; or for the general benevolence and clemency of his disposition. Dion ascribes it to the mercy which he displayed at the commencement of his sovereignty, when, being

ANTONINUS, importuned to order the execution of some offenders,
^{1.}
 A. D. 138. he declared: "It does not become me to begin
 my government with such acts." These instances,
 one or more of which acquired for him the
 epithet of *Pius*, will inform the English reader
 of the sense in which it was used, and remind him
 not to confound it with the word of corresponding
 sound in his own language.

The demands upon the liberality of Antoninus were readily answered, as he gave largesses from his own purse to the soldiers and people, and also paid them the gratuities which Hadrian had promised. The presents of gold*, which custom exacted on account of his adoption, were entirely remitted to the inhabitants of Italy; and one half was returned to the people of the provinces. The principle, by which he thought an emperor ought to be guided in pecuniary affairs, was declared to his wife, who, in reply to some complaints which she had made, received the following reproof: "Foolish woman, since we attained the imperial rank, we have lost even what we had before."

Inflexible in his determination to show the highest respect to the memory of Hadrian, he conducted his remains in a solemn manner from Baia to Rome, and exposed them in the gardens of Domitia, before they were deposited in his mausoleum. Having overcome the undisguised reluctance of the senate, and procured for him the honours of deification, he established an order of priests, and dedicated a most magnificent shield to his deceased benefactor. He refused many of the honours offered to himself, but allowed his birth-day to be commemorated by an exhibition of the games of the circus. He at first declined the title of "Father of his

* Aurum coronarium.

country," but afterwards accepted it with great professions of gratitude. He permitted his wife Faustina to receive the appellation of *Augusta*, and cheerfully acceded to the votes of the senate which decreed, that statues should be erected to his deceased relatives, his grand-fathers, his father and mother, and his brothers.

The equity and moderation which distinguished Antoninus as a private individual, were much more conspicuous in his conduct as emperor; but, unfortunately, history has not preserved more than a vague and general description of his government. He allowed all those, who had been advanced by Hadrian, to retain their respective offices. When he was required to promote others, he selected persons in whom he had observed the strictest regard for justice; if they performed their public duties with fidelity, they were rewarded with honours; and if he was compelled to remove them for misconduct, their disgrace was not aggravated by unnecessary rigour. He was so averse to change, that he permitted governors of provinces to remain in their situations for eight or nine years, if he was satisfied with their mode of administration. Nor was he more subject to caprice respecting the great offices at Rome. Gavius Maximus, a man of the strictest character, enjoyed the dignity of prætorian præfect for twenty years. Orphitus was allowed, in consequence of his own request, to retire from the office of præfect of the city; but no one who exercised the judicial functions in a virtuous manner, was ever superseded by Antoninus.

The provinces all flourished under his paternal rule: he was accurately acquainted with the state of their finances, and governed the people with the most vigilant benevolence. He enjoined his pro-

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^{1.}
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curators to collect the tributes with moderation and forbearance; if they exceeded the bounds of justice, he called them to an account for their misconduct, and was always disposed to investigate any charges which others advanced against them. Instead of tolerating and conniving at the plunder of the provincials, he scorned to augment his revenue by the fruits of rapacity and oppression.

His freedmen were restrained with rigour, so that they could not indulge in those disgraceful licences, which the Romans had often witnessed in persons of their condition. As most of the public business passed under his own superintendence, his ministers had no opportunity to impose upon his credulity, to intimidate their fellow-citizens, and enrich themselves by the arts of venal corruption. He was willing, however, to show the highest deference to the dignity of the senate, and the opinions of the people. So far was he from persecuting the senators with jealous cruelty, that one of their order, who had acknowledged himself guilty of the unnatural crime of parricide, was merely left in a desert island to encounter his fate. He did not consider it any infringement of the imperial authority to give to the senate an account of his public actions, and even to explain his conduct to the people by the edicts which he issued. It is related by Aurelius Victor, that, on one occasion, when the people, blinded by the apprehension of a want of provisions, ventured to assault the emperor with stones, he did not attempt to punish their senseless violence, but allayed their anger by a calm exposition of the real state of affairs. And in all instances of sedition, which disturbed the course of his government, he did not endeavour to suppress them by intemperate acts of cruelty, but by exerting a spirit of dignified moderation.

He was equally lenient in punishing those who aspired to the imperial power. Atilius Tatianus, who was guilty of this offence, was proscribed by the authority of the senate; but Antoninus would not allow any enquiry to be instituted concerning his accomplices, and generously befriended his son in all the circumstances of life. Priscianus, another conspirator, put himself to death, and all investigation was suppressed by the emperor. In a conspiracy formed by Celsus, the empress Faustina urged him to act with greater severity, and to consult the safety of his family before that of others. The senate, also, expressed their readiness to prosecute all who were implicated in plots against his life; but he restrained their zeal by declaring, that it was not necessary to make rigorous enquiries respecting conspirators, lest it should be discovered that he was an object of hatred to many individuals.

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While he was reluctant to shed the blood of Roman citizens, he was not eager to draw the sword against foreign nations. The abridged accounts of the two Victors might lead the reader to imagine, that for more than twenty years, during which Antoninus ruled the empire, universal peace was preserved; but Capitolinus and Pausanias enumerate some wars and rebellions, by which the calm of general tranquillity was several times interrupted. It is acknowledged, however, that the emperor was not impelled by any vain desire of military fame; that he did not commit wanton aggressions upon peaceable nations; and that he wished to defend his provinces, rather than enlarge their boundaries. Whenever it was necessary that his armies should take the field, they were entrusted to the command of his lieutenants, and he himself never appeared upon the scene of action. Lollius Urbicus gained

ANTONINUS, some victories over the Brigantes in Britain, and
 A. D. 138. ^{1.} Antoninus did not disdain to assume the title of
Britannicus on his coins. A rampart of turf was
 erected still further north than that which Hadrian
 had drawn across the island. The Moors, having
 provoked the attacks of the Romans, were driven to
 the western extremity of Africa, and compelled to
 sue for peace. The Germans, Dacians, Jews, and
 other nations who ventured to rebel, were unsuc-
 cessful in their projects. Commotions were, also,
 suppressed in Achaia and Egypt; and the hostile
 plans of the Alani were watched and frustrated.

The strict justice of Antoninus was so fully
 acknowledged by foreign nations, that many revered
 him as a protector or parent, rather than suspected
 him as an enemy; they were willing to submit to
 his authority, and, laying down their arms, to refer
 their disputes to the arbitration of so equitable a
 mediator. The most distant people of the East,
 the Indians, Bactrians, and Hyrcanians, sent
 embassies to him. Pharasmanes, the Iberian king,
 came to Rome, as he had formerly done in the time
 of Hadrian; but his deference to that emperor was
 not so great as that which he paid to Antoninus.
 The Parthian monarch was deterred from attacking
 Armenia by the mere letters of Antoninus, who
 refused, however, to grant him the golden throne
 which Trajan had taken at Ctesiphon, and which
 Hadrian had promised to restore. Antoninus had,
 also, power to appoint Pacorus to be king over the
 Colchian people, the Lazi*; and his authority alone
 was sufficient to effect the removal of a prince,
 named Abgarus, from the territories of the East.
 He established Rhoëmetalces in his kingdom of the

* *Ladis*, which is the reading in Capitulinus, is corrected by commentators
 into *Lazis*.

Bosphorus, after hearing the controversy which had arisen between him and his guardian. He likewise interposed for the protection of the city of Olbia, which was situated on the Borysthenes, and sent the inhabitants such succours, as enabled them to be victorious over, and obtain hostages from, their enemies, the Tauroscythæ. Such are the brief intimations, scattered in the works of various writers, respecting the foreign transactions of Antoninus. The strict state of discipline which Hadrian had established in the Roman armies might have contributed in some degree to protect the empire from the rash attacks of the surrounding nations. We are not informed whether Antoninus followed the dangerous example of his predecessor in disarming the hostility of the barbarians by gifts and pensions; but it is certain, that he loved and cultivated peace with all the sincerity of a philanthropist; often declaring (like Scipio) that he would rather preserve one citizen than slay a thousand enemies.

ANTONINUS,

1.
A. D. 138.

In all the stations of life, humanity was one of the chief virtues that ennobled the character of Antoninus. Before he was elevated to the imperial power, he was accustomed to lend his money at very low interest, not for the purpose of enriching himself, but of assisting as many individuals as possible. In the exercise of absolute authority, he was never guilty of oppression nor severity towards any of his subjects, but was the most indulgent of rulers. When there was a scarcity of wine, oil, and corn, he purchased the articles with his own money, and made a gratuitous distribution of them among the people. Cities were aided by his bounty in the construction of new works, and the restoration of old ones: succour, also, was afforded to in-

ANTONINUS, individuals, to magistrates and senators, who were
 1.
 A. D. 138. embarrassed by the expense attendant upon their
 public duties. He was munificent to his præfects
 and governors; and if he was constrained to condemn any of them for extortion, he suffered their children to enjoy their property, on condition that they indemnified the inhabitants of the provinces for the injuries received from their parents. He did not affect the appearance of stoical insensibility, nor extol it in others; for when his son Marcus was reproved by some of the courtiers for displaying much grief at the death of his tutor, Antoninus did not concur in the censure, but said to them: "Suffer him to act like a man; for neither philosophy, nor imperial power, destroys the affections of the soul."

In his general intercourse with the citizens, no prince ever exhibited a more easy and condescending behaviour. It is related by Philostratus (in his *Lives of the Sophists*) that, when Antoninus was proconsul of Asia, he took the liberty of making use of the house of Polemon, the sophist, during his absence from Smyrna; but when the master returned, and loudly expressed his dissatisfaction at the unwelcome intrusion, the proconsul resolved to leave his apartments, although it was midnight, and seek a more hospitable abode. When Antoninus became emperor, he received a visit from Polemon, at Rome, with his usual courtesy; but, in ordering an apartment to be provided for him, he archly observed: "No one shall dispossess you of it." One of the actors appealed to him for redress against the same sophist, because he had driven him from the theatre at mid-day. "He once drove me out" (exclaimed the emperor) "at *midnight*, and yet I did not complain."

Apollonius, a stoic philosopher of Chalcis, was

selected to give instructions to Marcus, and, having come to Rome for that purpose, was desired to wait upon the emperor, and receive his pupil from his hands. But the philosopher asserted, that it was the duty of the scholar to attend the master, not of the master to attend the scholar; and Antoninus yielded to his punctilious pride, observing, with a laugh, that it was easier for Apollonius to travel from Chalcis to Rome, than to walk from his house to the palace.

ANTONINUS,
1.
A. D. 138.

When Antoninus solicited any honours for himself or family, he submitted to the same forms, as if he had been a private individual. He never performed any sacrifice by deputy, unless illness compelled him to resign the duty. He lived in habits of easy familiarity with his friends, and always consulted them upon the management of public affairs. He condescended to walk and converse with them, to partake of the pleasures of the season of vintage, to invite them to his banquets, and to be a guest at their tables. When he visited the house of Omulus, and happened to ask him where he procured some porphyry columns, which he admired for their beauty, his host evaded the question by reminding him, that in another person's house he ought to be both deaf and dumb. The emperor bore this ungracious reproof with the same unruffled temper that he listened to many other repartees of Omulus.

The mode of life observed by Antoninus was simple and unostentatious. He was often seen by his friends wearing the most ordinary dress, and busy in domestic occupations.

His table was served in such a style, as to exhibit opulence without profusion, and frugality without meanness. He sold the imperial ornaments and property which appeared to him superfluous; and

ANTONINUS, whenever he quitted the capital, he resided upon his own private estates. Unlike his predecessor, who was constantly traversing different parts of the empire, Antoninus did not extend his journeys beyond the environs of Rome, and the coasts of Campania. He considered, that the presence of an emperor, however averse to expense, was burdensome to the inhabitants of the provinces; and Rome appeared to him the most convenient place to receive quick intelligence from all parts of his dominions. He did not scorn to take pleasure in the histrionic art; and fishing and hunting formed a considerable portion of his amusements.

^{1.}
A. D. 138.

Antoninus was rich before he was raised to the sovereignty; and although he was moderate in his personal expenses, yet his wealth was impaired by his bounty to the soldiers, and his liberality to his friends. The public treasury, however, was left by him in a state of affluence. In providing amusements for the Roman people, he exhibited elephants, crocodiles, hippopotamuses, and the most extraordinary animals that nature produces; and, like Hadrian, he collected as many as a hundred lions to be slaughtered in one contest. He employed his funds more judiciously in granting salaries to professors of rhetoric and philosophy in all the provinces; but, although he patronized learning, and his own attainments were considerable, it was generally believed that the orations which he delivered were not composed by himself. His love of justice made him hostile to sinecures, and prompted him to declare, that he considered nothing more base and cruel, than that the wealth of the state should be consumed by those who performed no service for it. He withdrew, therefore, the pensions of many, who were enjoying them in idleness; and the lyric poet,

Mesomedes, was one who experienced the rigour of his economy. An exact attention to the most minute affairs is almost the only fault that the enemies of Antoninus could discover in his mode of government. This scrupulous care might have been apparent in the management of his finances, and have induced the satirical to describe him as a person who would divide even a seed of cummin*. That he was degraded by avarice or parsimony is a charge which is most plainly confuted by the whole tenour of his life; but his strict regard for justice and propriety, and his admiration of useful, rather than splendid, virtues, might have betrayed him into that pardonable excess, which folly loves to exaggerate, and malice to misrepresent.

ANTONINUS,

1.

A. D. 138.

Antoninus had been the father of two sons, and two daughters, by his wife Annia Galeria Faustina. Neither of his sons reached a mature age. His elder daughter, who was married to Lamia Syllanus, died as her father was proceeding into Asia to take possession of his proconsulship. His only surviving child was Annia Faustina; and if the intentions of Hadrian had been carried into effect, she would have been bestowed upon Lucius, the son of Ælius Verus, whom that prince had adopted. But when Antoninus was at liberty to be guided by his own judgment, he reflected, that Lucius was too young for the projected union with his daughter, and that the superior age (if not the superior character) of his nephew, Marcus Aurelius, would render him a far more eligible partner of her fortunes. Marcus, therefore, became the son-in-law of the emperor, and in consequence of that affinity was honoured with the title of Cæsar, and suddenly raised from

* Κυμνοπρίστην ικάλουν.—Dion.

ANTONINUS, the quæstorship to the consulship, at the request of the senate.

3.
A. D. 141.

The empress Faustina died in the third year of her husband's sovereignty. The unbecoming freedom of her mode of life occasioned many unfavourable rumours, which Antoninus heard with grief, and laboured in vain to suppress. But whatever were her frailties on earth, the Romans did not consider her unworthy of a place in heaven. She was deified by the senate, temples were erected to her, priestesses were appointed, and statues were cast of both silver and gold. A medallion has been preserved, in which she is represented as ascending to heaven on the back of a Pegasus*. A body of girls, whom Antoninus maintained, received the title of *Faustinian*, in honour of his empress. The senate also decreed, that the months of September and October should be designated by the names of Antoninus and Faustina; but the emperor would not allow the alteration to be made.

Although Antoninus did not indulge a vain and ostentatious taste for building, yet he did not withhold his aid from necessary and useful works. He fulfilled the duty, which gratitude as well as expedience required, of finishing the sepulchre of Hadrian. The Græcostasis was restored by him after a conflagration, and many other buildings at Rome were repaired. The ports of Caieta, Terracina, and Puteoli, were strengthened or improved; and in the East and other parts of the empire, there were various edifices which stood as honourable monuments of his bounty. The town of Pallantium, in Arcadia, was favoured with extraordinary honours: it was raised to the dignity of a city, and excused from tribute, as Antoninus seemed to believe the

PAUSAN. viii.
43.

* See Spanheim's copious notes to his translation of Julian's *Cæsars*.

tradition, which has been embellished by the poetry of Virgil*, that a body of Arcadians, conducted by Evander, had formerly fixed their residence on the Palatine Hill.

ANTONINUS,
S.
A. D. 141.

A fearful earthquake overturned many of the cities of Asia; but they were all restored by the generous assistance of Antoninus. The temple of Cyzicus, which was reckoned the largest and most beautiful in the world, was prostrated by the general concussion: its pillars are said to have been fifty cubits in height, and each was formed of one block of marble†. Among other calamities, the cities of Narbonne and Antioch, and the forum of Carthage, were injured by extensive conflagrations. At Rome three hundred and forty habitations of different kinds were destroyed by fire: the inhabitants of the capital were also alarmed by a famine, and by an evil of not very rare occurrence—an inundation of the Tiber. The appearance of a comet and a pestilence in Arabia are recorded by Capitolinus, in addition to such prodigies, as cannot be enumerated without compelling the reader to smile at the credulity of the historian‡.


Dion. lxx.
Capit.


In his conduct towards the Christians, Antoninus imitated the justice of his predecessor, and appeared as the avowed protector of the professors of the new religion. "The law of Hadrian, according to its natural sense, seemed to cover the Christians from the fury of their enemies, since it rendered them punishable on no other account than the *commission of crimes*, and since the magistrates refused to interpret their religion as the *crime* mentioned in

* Æn. viii. 51.

† "Ἐκαστος κίρρας μιᾶς.—Dion.

‡ He gravely relates, that in Mœsia barley grew on the tops of trees; and that in Arabia a large serpent ate its own tail, and half its body. His whole life of Antoninus is little better than a heap of unconnected sentences.

ANTONINUS, ^{3.}
 A. D. 141. 
 vented a new method of attacking them under the reign of Antoninus Pius, even by accusing them of impiety and atheism. This calumny was refuted in an Apology for the Christians, presented to the emperor by Justin Martyr, in consequence of which, this equitable prince ordered, that all proceedings against them should be regulated by the law of Hadrian. This, however, was not sufficient to suppress the rage of bloodthirsty persecution; for some time after this, on occasion of some earthquakes which happened in Asia, the people renewed their violence against the Christians, whom they considered as the authors of those calamities, and treated consequently in the most cruel and injurious manner. The emperor, informed of these unjust and barbarous proceedings, addressed an edict to the whole province of Asia, in which he denounced capital punishment against such as should, for the future, accuse the Christians, without being able to prove them guilty of any crime.*”

ANTONINUS, ^{23.}
 A. D. 161. 
 The mild and beneficent reign of Antoninus was terminated after a duration of nearly twenty-three years. Some Alpine cheese, on which he had supped with a keen appetite, was a greater burden than his stomach could sustain; and, although he rejected the food at night, he was attacked with fever on the following day. When he felt that his strength was sinking under the malady, he summoned his friends and, præfects, and, in their presence, solemnly committed the state and his daughter, to the protection of Marcus Aurelius; he also ordered, that the golden image of Fortune, which was one of the symbols of imperial power, should be removed from his own chamber, and

* Mosheim, *Eccles. Hist.* cent. 2, part 1.

placed in that of his intended successor. In the delirium, which was occasionally produced by the violence of the fever, he spoke of nothing but the affairs of the state, and certain kings who had provoked his anger. His last moments, however, were exceedingly calm: being required to give the watchword to the tribune upon guard, he selected the word *Equanimity*, and, turning himself, expired, as if he had been sinking into a gentle slumber. He died at Lorium; and, although he had exceeded his seventieth year*, he was as much regretted by the Romans, as if they had lost a young and vigorous prince. He left his private patrimony to his daughter; but rewarded the attachment of all friends by suitable legacies. The honours, which he had almost constrained the senate to pay to the memory of Hadrian, were cheerfully bestowed upon himself; he was deified by the emulous zeal of the senate; and if worship could, without impiety, be offered to any mortal, no emperor had established a better title to it than Antoninus. Adorned with genius, eloquence, and learning—accurately acquainted with all the arts of government, and diligent in practising them for the safety and welfare of his subjects—dignified by piety, justice, clemency, and liberality, which he exercised with a sincerity devoid of all ostentation—he was compared by the admiring Romans to Numa Pompilius; but in the estimation of modern judges, the ruler of an extensive and civilized empire will probably be placed in a more eminent rank, than could be assumed by the king of an infant and barbarous state.

ANTONINUS,
23.
A. D. 161.

Dion. lxx.
Capit.

The exterior of Antoninus in every respect corresponded with the dignity of his station; his

* There is a considerable discrepancy respecting the exact age of Antoninus, and the exact duration of his reign.

ANTONINUS,^{23.} countenance was noble, yet serene; his stature tall yet graceful. When the debility of age constrained him to stoop, he supported his body by a kind of stays, composed of laths of the linden tree. He did not betray any extraordinary solicitude concerning his health, but upheld his constitution in such a way, as seldom to have recourse to medicine. His abstemiousness was so great, that he suffered no inconvenience from sedentary duties, but could sit in council for an unusual length of time. After suffering from violent attacks of head-ach, he would not spare his energies, but quickly returned to the dispatch of business. As he grew old, he found some support was necessary in the morning, before he received his visitors; but all that he took was a morsel of dry bread. In his dress, no one could censure him either for vain ostentation, or unbecoming negligence.

Voss. Hist.
Lat. i. 32.

Of the writers who are referred to the age of Antoninus, the two historians, Justin and Appian, are well known. The former of them is supposed to have borne the names of M. Junianus Justinus; and it is believed, upon probable conjecture, rather than undoubted authority, that he flourished in the time of Antoninus. He is not an original writer, but merely epitomized the forty-four books of universal history, which Trogus Pompeius composed in the age of Augustus. The abridgement is elegant and interesting, but it is too concise to satisfy the curiosity of the learned, and the perusal of it cannot fail to awaken a regret, that the more voluminous work of Trogus has been lost.

Voss. Hist.
Græc. ii. 13.

Appian, a native of Alexandria, wrote the Roman history in Greek, arranging his materials under the heads of the different nations that had been subjected to the power of Rome. His work, which

consisted of twenty-four books, has been greatly impaired by the ravages of time.

ANTONINUS,
23.
A. D. 161.

Claudius Ptolemy, the celebrated geographer and mathematician, is supposed by some to have been born at Alexandria; but Vossius maintains, that although his astronomical observations were made in that city, Pelusium was his native place. Though Ptolemy was not acquainted with the true system of the world, yet he is to be classed with those eminent men, who have enlarged the boundaries of science.

Voss. Hist.
Græc. iv. 17.

THE EMPERORS
MARCUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS
AND
LUCIUS VERUS.

CHAPTER I.

The ancient lineage of M. Antoninus.—The various names which he bore.—His education, and love of philosophy.—His gratitude to his instructors.—His conduct before he became emperor.—Makes L. Verus his colleague.—The unanimity of the two emperors.—Heavy calamities befall the Roman empire.—Lucius sent into the East.—His luxurious and indolent conduct.—The success of the Romans in Armenia.—Lucilla married to L. Verus.—Defeats of the Parthians.—The emperors triumph together, and receive other honours.—A pestilence ravages the empire.—The Marcomanni and other barbarous nations commence a formidable war.—Marcus, proceeding to Aquileia with his colleague, compels them to suspend their hostilities.—Lucius dies suddenly at Altinum.—Deified.—Remarks upon his character and person.

MARCUS, the adopted son and the son-in-law of Antoninus, could boast of a very ancient and illustrious lineage; for, if the Roman historians are to

MARCUS,
1.
A. D. 161.
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MARCUS,
 1.
 A. D. 161.
 Capit. Vit. M.
 Anton. 1.
 Dion. lxxi.
 Eutrop viii. 9.

be credited, he was descended on his father's side from Numa Pompilius, and on his mother's from the Salentine king who founded Lupiæ. His grandfather, Annius Verus, was raised to the patrician rank by Vespasian, and bore the offices of consul and præfect of the city. His father (also named Annius Verus) died at the time he was invested with the prætorship, leaving Marcus, and a daughter named Annia Cornificia, as the fruits of his marriage with Domitia Calvilla.

Marcus for some time bore the name of Catilius Severus, who was his great grand-father on the mother's side, and had been twice consul, and præfect of Rome. After the death of his father he was adopted and educated by his paternal grandfather, Annius Verus, and, therefore, assumed his name. Hadrian, to whom he was related, and who thought him worthy of the highest marks of protection and favour, jocosely called him *Verissimus*, on account of the frankness and sincerity of his nature; but it appears, that he was sometimes seriously addressed under this appellation. His adoption into the family of Antoninus, and through him into that of Hadrian, gave him a right to assume the names of Ælius, Aurelius, and Antoninus. The two names, by which he is usually distinguished in modern times, are Marcus Antoninus, to which is generally added the surname of *Philosophus*, on account of the dignity with which he supported that character, and the zeal with which he devoted himself to the study of ethical truth.

Marcus was born at Rome, on the Cælian hill, on the 26th of April, A. D. 121, and had, therefore, nearly completed his fortieth year, when he succeeded to the imperial power. As he was deprived of his father at an early age, his education com-

menced with unfavourable auspices, under the management of his grand-father's concubine; but he thanks the gods, in his *Meditations**, that he was not long subjected to her authority. Having ingratiated himself with Hadrian, he enjoyed the fostering care of that prince, who, notwithstanding his personal faults, was an acute judge of the studies and accomplishments necessary to form the youthful character. All the learning, that could be imparted by others, was freely accessible to Marcus. The most eminent grammarians and rhetoricians instructed him in the language and literature of Greece, as well as of Rome: law and geometry occupied a portion of his time; nor were music and painting deemed unworthy of his attention. But no study was so congenial to his taste as that of philosophy; and amidst the various sects by whom it was professed, the Stoics were those, whose sublime tenets he considered to be grounded in truth. As soon as he entered his twelfth year, he assumed the Greek cloak†, which was the distinguishing dress of persons who aspired to the name of philosophers; he inured himself to hardship by lying on the ground, and was with difficulty persuaded by his mother to use a couch covered with skins. His rigorous mode of life, and severe application to study, weakened his constitution, and defeated one of the ends of a perfect education, by which the powers of the body as well as those of the mind ought to be exercised and improved. The gravity which was natural to him from his childhood was increased by his philosophical zeal, but did not destroy that courtesy, which was due to his friends and fellow-citizens. He was always calm and dignified; and the composure of his mind was expressed by the serenity of his countenance, which

MARCUS,

1.

A. D. 161.

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* Lib. 1.

† Pallium.

MARCUS, was never affected by the emotions of either grief
 1.
 A. D. 161. or joy.

Capit. Vit. M.
 Anton. 2, 3.

His gratitude to his instructors was fully proportioned to the value of the lessons which they had imparted to him. In the first book of his *Meditations* he recounts, with the warmest acknowledgments, the names of those persons, whose precepts had been most effectual in confirming his principles, and directing his conduct. We read with pleasure that his mother laboured to inspire him with religious and virtuous sentiments, and taught him to be content with a plain and frugal mode of life; and he thanks the gods for prolonging her days, after she had been threatened with an early death. One of the most eminent of his instructors was Cornelius Fronto, a Latin orator, who initiated him not only into the rules of rhetoric, but into the knowledge of mankind; and Marcus requited the service by making him consul, and requesting the senate to erect a statue to his honour. The philosophers, who were most admired by him, were Apollonius, Maximus, and Rusticus. The last of these was admitted into his closest confidence, and was his counsellor in all affairs both public and private; he was treated with such distinction, that he always received the emperor's salute of a kiss before the prætorian præfects; he was twice invested with the consulship, and after death was honoured with statues, which the senate decreed at the solicitation of Marcus. Although Rusticus often offended his pupil, he never experienced from him any symptoms of unbecoming resentment; and there cannot be a nobler proof of the judgment and candour of Marcus, than that he loved and honoured the men, who were sincere enough to dispute his opinions, and oppose his wishes. He cherished such respect for his preceptors in

general, that he kept their images, made of gold, in the chapel of his household gods*, and offered sacrifices and flowers at their tombs.

MARCUS,
1.
A. D. 161.

When Marcus was but eight years old, he was admitted into the college of the Salii, or priests of Mars, among whom he was invested with the highest offices, nor did he disdain to perfect himself in all their rites and ceremonies. At the age of fifteen, when he assumed the *toga virilis*, the daughter of Ælius Verus was betrothed to him, in compliance with the wishes of Hadrian; but the marriage was never consummated. When the time arrived for making a division of his father's property, he generously resigned the whole to his sister, declaring, that he was satisfied with his grand-father's estate, and that he would allow his mother (if she pleased) to leave all her property to his sister, that her wealth might not be inferior to her husband's. It is probable that Marcus would have been adopted by Hadrian as his immediate successor, if he had not been considered too young for so important a destiny. Even when his adoption by Antoninus removed the prospect of empire to a considerable distance, his philosophical and sensitive mind was impressed with alarm rather than joy; and to his domestics, who inquired the cause of his despondence, he gravely expatiated upon the evils which attend the possession of sovereignty. When he was elevated to the rank of the imperial family, he continued to pay the same respect as before to all his relatives, and practised the same regularity and economy in the management of his affairs. Although the daughter of Verus had been betrothed to him, Antoninus did not scruple to ascertain, through the intervention of his empress, whether it would be agreeable to him to marry their

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 4-7.

* In *larario*.

MARCUS,
A. D. 161.

daughter Faustina ; and Marcus, after taking time to deliberate, acceded to the proposal. The title of Caesar, two consulships, the tribunician power, and other honours were gradually bestowed upon him ; but the various duties which he had to fulfil in the state, did not overcome his philosophical predilections, nor detach him from the pursuit of his favourite studies. He possessed such influence, that Antoninus seldom promoted any one without his approbation. He could not, however, escape the assaults of envy and detraction ; and one day Valerius Omulus, observing the mother of Marcus prostrated before the statue of Apollo, had the audacity to whisper in the ear of the emperor : “ She is praying that you may die, and her son rule in your stead.” But the confidence of Antoninus could not be shaken by the base insinuations of calumny, when he had continual proofs of the strict integrity and modest obedience of his son-in-law. During three-and-twenty years Marcus was absent from him but two nights, and in that long period of time his blameless conduct established increasing claims to the affection of the emperor.

Upon the death of Antoninus the senate conferred the imperial power upon Marcus alone, but he immediately took for his colleague Lucius, the son of Ælius Verus. The rank of his father (who had been adopted by Hadrian, and declared the *Cæsar*) might have reasonably encouraged the aspiring hopes of Lucius. Antoninus, also, had been required to adopt Lucius as well as Marcus, and if he had scrupulously complied with the wishes of Hadrian, he would have bestowed his daughter upon the former of those princes. But, in the distribution of his favours, Antoninus forbore to place Lucius on an equal rank with his nephew ; and the different characters of the

two youths seemed to justify the preference which he showed. While Marcus possessed a natural sedateness and a philosophical resolution, which defied all the solicitations of pleasure, Lucius was of a gay and mirthful disposition, fond of the games of the circus, the gladiatorial exhibitions, and all other kinds of amusement, and ever ready to yield to the seductions of luxury and ease. It was prudent, therefore, that one should be subjected to restraint more closely than the other. But although the dignities bestowed upon Lucius were inferior to those of his adopted brother, he was invested with the consulship, and honoured with the title of *Son of Augustus*. When Marcus became emperor, he removed all distinction between himself and Lucius; he admitted him to an equal participation of power, allowed him to assume all the imperial titles, and ordered him to be called *Verus*, instead of *Commodus*—the name by which he had been hitherto distinguished. It is impossible to ascertain the motive which induced Marcus to make so generous a division of his authority—whether justice convinced him, that Lucius was entitled to the same privileges as himself—or policy suggested, that it was wise to remove all cause of contention, and to make a peaceable surrender of that which might become an object of armed dispute—or (as Dion affirms) the bodily infirmity of Marcus, and his love of study, urged him to place part of the burden of government upon a younger and more vigorous colleague. As the Roman empire had been formerly governed by two consuls, invested with equal dignity and power, so now, for the first time, it was subject to two emperors, each bearing the name of Augustus.

Lucius Verus had just completed the thirtieth year of his age, and if he had been of an ambitious

MARCUS,
1.
A. D. 161.

Capit. Vit.
Veri, 4.
Dion. lxxi.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 7, 8.
Vit. Veri, 4.

MARCUS,
1.
A. D. 161.

disposition, the empire might soon have been agitated with intestine discord; but his respect and gratitude to Marcus, or his love of indolence and pleasure, repressed all desire of political rivalry, and induced him to act with as much modesty and submission, as if he had been the lieutenant, rather than the colleague of an emperor. In addressing the soldiers, Marcus spoke in the name of both. Each, however, pronounced a public oration in praise of Antoninus, whose body they conducted with much pomp to the sepulchre of Hadrian; they also established a company of priests, called *Aurelian*, in honour of their deified father. To strengthen the bonds of their union, the daughter of Marcus was betrothed to Lucius; and on that occasion they augmented the number of children, whom the imperial bounty supported by a distribution of corn. Trajan had commenced this system of benevolence to the young, and it was continued and enlarged by his successors. Great as had been the clemency and mildness of Antoninus, no one could regret that the same virtues were not conspicuous in the government of Marcus. But his imperial duties did not so entirely absorb his time, as to constrain him to abandon the pursuit of philosophy. After he was elevated to supreme power, he did not disdain to attend the lectures of philosophers, and other instructors; and the sentiment of Plato was constantly repeated by him, "That states would flourish, if philosophers ruled, or rulers were philosophers."

MARCUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 162.
Vict. Epit. 16.
Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 8, &c.

It was soon to be proved by the rigid test of experience, how far the sway of a philosophical prince could secure the happiness, or alleviate the calamities, of his subjects. According to the opinion of Victor, the whole Roman empire would have been prostrated in ruin, if it had not been supported by

the virtues and genius of the emperor. The amity, which had been long maintained with foreign nations, began to be disturbed, and fierce wars were kindled both in the East and the West : earthquakes, also, inundations, plagues, and almost every kind of evil incident to human nature, desolated the earth in the time of Marcus, and demanded the mitigating care of a most skilful and compassionate ruler.

MARCUS,
1. 2.
A. D. 102.

Among the first calamities that distressed the Romans, was a violent inundation of the Tiber, which, besides being injurious to the buildings of the city, destroyed a great number of cattle, and produced a very grievous famine.

Hostilities were commenced by the Britons, and Calpurnius Agricola was sent to reduce the islanders to submission. The Catti had carried their arms into Rhætia, and into the Roman provinces of Germany ; and Aufidius Victorinus was sent to resist their incursions. The Parthians, who had observed peace since the defeats they had suffered from Trajan, began to manifest a hostile spirit in the last years of Antoninus Pius. This spirit soon despised all restraint ; for Marcus was scarcely invested with the imperial power, when he received the afflicting intelligence, that Severianus, who had marched with a Roman army into Armenia, had been surrounded by the Parthians at Elegeia, and that all the troops and officers had perished by the arrows of the barbarians. Elated by this slaughter of their enemies, the Parthians marched into Syria, putting to flight Atidius Cornelianus, the governor of the province, and spreading consternation among the inhabitants of the cities. Marcus resolved, with the consent of the senate, that Lucius should proceed into the East in order to resist the invaders, while he himself remained at Rome to superintend the affairs of the

Dion. lxxi.

MARCUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 102.

empire. It is probable, that he expected the cares and fatigues of war would invigorate the character of his colleague, inspire him with energy and fortitude, and detach him from the voluptuous indulgences to which he was addicted ; but the result proved, that such hopes were fallacious.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 8.
Vit. Veri, 6, 7.

When Lucius departed from Rome, he was accompanied by Marcus as far as Capua. His mode of life soon demonstrated, that he had not the resolution to forego the pleasures of luxury for the duties of a martial expedition ; for he had not proceeded further than Canusium, when he was attacked with illness, arising from the gross excess with which he had indulged his appetite in the entertainments given to him in different villas. Marcus, being informed of his sickness, hastened from Rome to Canusium, in order to visit him, and even offered vows in the senate for the recovery of his health. When Lucius was convalescent, he resumed his progress with the same devotion to pleasure as before: songs and strains of music soothed him, as he sailed between Corinth and Athens ; and he lingered in the maritime cities of Asia, in order to enjoy the gratifications they could afford. When he arrived in Syria, he resided principally at Antioch and its voluptuous suburb of Daphne, removing to Laodicea in the winter season.

The war in the East was prolonged to a period of four years, and during that time the slothful Lucius did not approach the Euphrates more than twice ; and even then he was impelled by the zeal of his companions, more than by his own inclination. Under pretence of securing provisions for his army, he remained at a distance from the scenes of danger ; and his inactive and luxurious habits exposed him to such contempt, that the inhabitants of Antioch

openly ridiculed him in the theatre. Little success could have been gained by the Romans, if they had been compelled to rely upon the energy of Lucius alone ; but all things necessary for the war were provided by the vigilance of Marcus, and the operations of the field were conducted by able commanders, among whom Statius Priscus, Avidius Cassius, and Martius Verus, were the most renowned. The accounts of their exploits are very concise. The city of Artaxata was taken by Statius Priscus, and the Armenians were compelled to submit to the Roman arms ; and in consequence of this success the title of *Armeniacus* was conferred upon both the emperors. The modesty of Marcus induced him at first to decline the honour ; but he afterwards accepted it ; and doubtless, by his vigour, he had contributed to the success of the campaign, more than his colleague.

MARCUS,
1, 2.
A. D. 162.

MARCUS,
2, 3.
A. D. 163.

Before the Parthian war was concluded, Marcus fulfilled the promise which he had made, to unite his daughter in marriage to Lucius. He declared to the senate, that he would accompany her into Syria ; but he left her, when he arrived at Brundisium, and returned immediately to Rome, on account of some rumours disseminated by malevolent persons, who alleged, that he was going into the East, in order that he might claim the glory of finishing the war. The bride, Lucilla, proceeded to Asia, under the care of his sister ; and he wrote to the pro-consul, enjoining him, that no one should go out to meet her on her journey. Lucius went to receive her at Ephesus, not so much from motives of respect, as fear ; for he was apprehensive, that if her father came with her and escorted her into Syria, he might discover the flagitious mode of life in which he had been indulging.

MARCUS,
3, 4.
A. D. 164.

MARCUS,
4, 5.
A. D. 165.

Dion. lxxi.
Vit. Veri, 7, 8.
Eutrop. viii. 10.

In the sequel of the war, the Romans revenged the aggressions of the Parthians, and pursued their victories into distant parts of the East. Cassius, after vigorously sustaining the attacks of Vologeses, was able to act on the offensive; and the Parthian monarch, abandoned by his allies, was compelled to flee before him. The Romans marched triumphantly into Babylonia, Assyria, and Media; but in some places, they sullied their victories by acts of desolation and carnage. When they captured Ctesiphon, they destroyed the palace of Vologeses, which was in that city. Seleucia had opened its gates, and received them as friends, yet this act of submission did not avert the fury of the conquerors. It was destroyed by fire and sword, and (according to the epitome of Eutropius) forty thousand persons were made captives. Some Roman writers attempted to excuse this atrocious instance of indiscriminate revenge, by alleging, that the inhabitants of Seleucia were guilty of treachery; but others did not scruple to impute it to the cruel and perfidious spirit of Cassius himself. This general, after his sanguinary achievements, returned to Syria with his army greatly diminished by famine and disease. The Parthians, humbled by their defeats, were probably not reluctant to accede to conditions of peace; and it is supposed, that they were obliged to purchase it by the cession of Mesopotamia. The exploits of the Romans procured, for each of their emperors, the titles of *Parthicus* and *Medicus*.

MARCUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 166.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 12.
Vit. Veri, 7, 8.

After the termination of the war, Lucius returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph; but it was not without regret that he quitted the provinces of the East, where he had exercised a sovereign power, and pursued without controul his licentious inclinations. The titles which he had received from the army

MARCUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 166.

were confirmed by the authority of the senate ; and there seemed to be a generous emulation between him and Marcus, to divide all the honours which were merited by either of them. The title of " Father of his country," which was much more due to Marcus than his colleague, was bestowed upon both : both also received a civic crown. At the request of Lucius, the honours of a triumph were enjoyed by Marcus as well as himself : the children, also, of Marcus, of both sexes, appeared in the triumphal car. Lucius further requested, that each of the sons of his colleague should receive the appellation of *Cæsar*.

The victories of the Romans were saddened by the pestilence which had insinuated itself into the ranks of their legions. In the opinion of Capitolinus, this dreadful malady was to be considered as a punishment of the treachery with which Cassius had destroyed the city of Seleucia ; and he relates, that it originated from the opening of a small golden box, which a soldier happened to find in a temple of Apollo, and which contained a pestiferous vapour that scattered death over the most extensive regions of the earth. This account of the commencement of the pestilence will not obtain much credit from modern readers ; and it may be inferred, from a treatise of Lucian, that it was produced in Ethiopia, and thence, dispersing itself through Egypt, penetrated into the territories of the Parthians. But, in whatever country it originated, it infected at last the troops of Verus, and accompanied them in their march from province to province, until it displayed its malignant influence at Rome, and desolated the western as well as the eastern parts of the empire. So many thousands perished by its virulence, that it was necessary to carry away the dead

Lucian de Hist.

MARCUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 166.

bodies in waggons and other vehicles. By the humanity of Marcus, the funerals of the lower classes were conducted at the public expense: to the most eminent citizens who died he caused statues to be erected; and he was obliged to establish very strict laws respecting the mode of burial, and the construction of sepulchres. The miseries of the citizens were aggravated by a famine, which appears to have preceded the pestilence, although it might have ensued as one of the consequences of its fatal ravages.

Eutrop. viii. 12.
Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 13, 22.
Vit. Veri. 9.
Dion. lxxi.

While the Roman troops were consumed by disease, or languished in sickly weakness, a most formidable war was commenced by the barbarous nations inhabiting the countries to the north of the Danube. The principal of these were the Marcomanni, from whom the war derived its appellation; but they were confederated with many other German people—the Narisci, Hermanduri, Quadi, Suevi, and Vandali; and also with the Sarmatians, the Roxolani, Alani, Bastarnæ, Iazyges, and other neighbouring tribes. Their hostile intentions were observed before the termination of the Parthian war, but their attacks were averted for a time by the prudent policy of the Romans, who dreaded to see the empire endangered, on all sides, by furious assailants. When tranquillity was restored in the East, and Lucius had returned to Rome, Marcus declared in the senate, that it was necessary that both the emperors should devote their attention to the Marcomannic war; for he was unwilling that Lucius should proceed alone on so great an expedition, or that he should be left at Rome to pursue his pleasures without restraint. The prospect of the war diffused great terror among the citizens; and Marcus, as if sensible of the impending danger,

endeavoured to propitiate the gods, by carefully purifying the city, and performing *lectisternia*, and other ceremonies of religion. This war, which was destined to occupy him, without much intermission, for the remainder of his life, has, on account of its magnitude, been compared by Eutropius to the Punic wars; but, unfortunately, its events have not been described by the eloquence of a Livy, nor even accurately recorded by inferior historians.

MARCUS,
5, 6.
A. D. 166.

Marcus, accompanied by his reluctant colleague, proceeded to Aquileia in order to repel the barbarians, who not only invaded the provinces, but drove before them fugitive nations, whom the Romans were obliged to receive into their territories, or to encounter as enemies. But the energy of Marcus arrested their progress. Many of the hostile kings retreated with their troops, and even put to death the principal authors of the war; they sent embassies to beseech the emperor to pardon their aggressions; and the Quadi, having lost their king, declared that they would not confirm the authority of his successor, unless their choice was agreeable to the Romans. The submission of so many enemies was not effected without loss; for the prætorian præfect, Furius Victorinus, was slain, and part of his army destroyed. Lucius, who regretted the pleasures of the capital, desired to leave Aquileia, and return to Rome as soon as possible; but Marcus would not comply with his wishes, because he distrusted the professions of the barbarians, and suspected, that their fear was assumed for the purpose of retarding his vigorous preparations for war. The two emperors, therefore, crossed the Alps, composed the tumults which agitated Pannonia, and arranged all the plans which were necessary for the

MARCUS,
6—8.
A. D. 167—8.
Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 14, 15.
Vit. Veri. 9, 10.
Dion. lxxi.

MARCUS,
6-8.
A. D. 167-8.

protection of Italy and Illyricum. The barbarians, intimidated by the promptitude and firmness of Marcus, suspended their hostile operations, but very soon afterwards were tempted to renew them.

MARCUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 169.

The indolence of Lucius rendered him almost a passive spectator of the events of the war; for, although he was constrained to accompany Marcus in his expedition, his principal care was to enjoy the pleasures of the banquet. His death was probably accelerated by his unrestrained luxury; for as he was travelling to Rome, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy in the Venetian territories; and though he was removed from his carriage, and bled, he languished in a speechless state for three days, and then expired at Altinum. Marcus, who was riding in the same carriage, was exposed to the most atrocious suspicions. It was alleged, that he had caused his brother's death by giving him poisoned food, or, at least, by ordering the physician Posidippus to bleed him unseasonably. Some, who did not deny the accusation, declared, that Lucius was meditating treachery against his colleague, and that his nefarious plans were justly anticipated by the destruction which fell upon himself. Others imputed his death to the resentment of the empress Faustina, and his wife Lucilla, who were said to be exasperated at the criminal ascendancy which his sister Fabia had acquired over his mind. These and similar reasons were assigned by the Romans, to account for an event which had nothing surprising in its nature; for Lucius was evidently the slave of indolence and pleasure, and probably inherited the seeds of disease from his father, who was as luxurious as himself, and had died in a manner equally sudden.

Whatever displeasure Marcus might have felt at

MARCUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 169.

the vices of his colleague, he always endeavoured to preserve the most conciliating forbearance towards him, and to veil his conduct as much as possible from public scrutiny. After his death, he elevated him to the highest honours that heathen superstition had invented in its system of idolatrous rites. The remains of Lucius were deposited in the sepulchre of Hadrian, where those of his father had been laid; he received the appellation of *Divus*; a *flamen* and other priests were appointed in his name; and all the honours conferred upon deified princes were paid to his memory. His aunts and sisters received pensions, and were distinguished by other marks of the emperor's favour.

It appears, that Lucius Verus enjoyed a share of the imperial power about nine years; but the period is extended to eleven years by Capitolinus, and some other historians. The rank in which he was born secured him the advantage of many skilful instructors in his youth, but he did not display much ability in the acquisition of learning. He amused himself, when a boy, in writing verses, and, afterwards, in composing orations; he was a better rhetorician than poet; but he was not fluent in his speech, and persons surmised, that the compositions to which he laid claim were written by some of the learned men who constantly attended him. Although he was adopted at an early age into the Aurelian family, and might have been animated to a love of virtue by the grave and blameless example of Marcus; yet the impulses of his voluptuous disposition were not resisted by him, either in youth or manhood. When the superintendence of the formidable war in the East was confided to him, he did not quicken his energies to meet the danger of the crisis and support the dignity of his station,

MARCUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 169.

but abused his authority as a licence for every kind of debauchery. After his return from Syria, the profusion of his feasts was unbounded, and he generally ended the festivities of the night with gambling. Sometimes imitating the wild propensities of Caligula and other princes, he wandered through the streets at night, his head being covered with a hood, and not only revelled with the lowest citizens, but engaged in tumultuary contests, in which his face was often disfigured with bruises, before he retired. He took an ardent interest in the races of the circus, and favoured the green faction*. He was so much attached to a horse named *Volucer*, that he caused his image to be made of gold, and carried it about with him; and when the animal died, he built a tomb for him on the Vatican hill. When Lucius returned from the East, he brought in his train a multitude of actors, musicians, buffoons, jugglers, and persons of all the idle classes that abounded in Syria and Egypt. The deference which he had formerly paid to his colleague manifestly declined; but as Marcus had generously conferred upon him an equal share of authority, he did not venture to reprove him in any other way, than by his dignified example. Lucius had built a villa on the Clodian road, where he used to assemble his friends, who were as dissolute as himself, that they might be free from all restraint, and revel for days together in uninterrupted pleasure. Marcus, being invited to this abode of licentiousness, did not refuse to reside there for five days; but during the whole of that time he regularly devoted himself to business, while his colleague was engaged with nothing but his luxurious festivities. This attempt to overcome inveterate habits

* *Prasino favens*.—Capit. Vit. Veri. 4.

of pleasure by the force of silent example naturally failed. The generosity of that forbearance, which Marcus practised, even exposed him to unjust suspicions; for persons, who ascribed to him but the ordinary elevation of human character, could not believe, that he would so patiently endure the vices of his colleague. In voluptuousness of disposition, and profligacy of manners, Lucius was not surpassed by Nero himself; he was not stained with the same cruelty as that prince; but if, like him, he had been sole and unrestrained ruler of the empire, it is difficult to conceive, how far he might have been transported into guilt by his depraved inclinations. The freedmen by whom he was surrounded did not aspire to a stricter virtue than their lord. After his death, Marcus removed most of them from court, under pretence of promoting them; but, by a singular fatality, he retained Eclectus, who afterwards engaged in the conspiracy, by which the life of his son Commodus was destroyed.

MARCUS,
8, 9.
A. D. 169.

Lucius was tall and graceful in his appearance. He followed the fashion of Hadrian, in allowing his beard to grow; but he shaved it when he was in Syria, to please (as it was reported) a common courtesan. He is said to have paid so much attention to the colour of his hair, that he used to sprinkle gold dust in it, in order to produce the appearance of a brilliant yellow, which the ancients considered most ornamental to the head.

THE EMPEROR

MARCUS ANTONINUS PHILOSOPHUS.

CHAPTER II.

Moderation and other virtues of Marcus.—Marcus makes preparations for the Marcomannic war.—Gives his daughter to Claudius Pompeianus.—Loses his son, Verus.—Rebellion and defeat of the Bucoli.—Marcus remains at Carnuntum, and carries on war with the barbarians.—Surrounded by the Quadi.—Saved in an extraordinary manner.—Receives the submission of the Quadi and other barbarous nations.—Prevents the attempted emigration of the Quadi.—The Iazyges treat with Marcus.—Avidius Cassius suspected of ambitious designs.—Severe in military discipline. Appointed governor of Syria.—Proclaims himself emperor.—Killed by a centurion.—The great clemency of Marcus to all the rebels.—Death of Faustina.—Marcus visits the East.—Honours bestowed upon Commodus.—Great liberality of Marcus.—Renewal of the Marcomannic war.—Death of the Emperor.—He is deified.—His virtues, and excessive lenity to Faustina and Commodus.—His injustice to the persecuted Christians.—Authors who flourished in his age.

MARCUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 170.

ALTHOUGH Marcus did not succeed in reclaiming Lucius by his example, yet he shed an additional lustre upon his own virtues by the wide and striking

contrast which he exhibited between his own manners and those of his colleague. As soon as he was invested with the sovereign power, he devoted himself to the government of the empire with such diligence, moderation and equity, as could not be surpassed. He was patient and unwearied in the administration of justice, not considering any labour (even if it encroached upon the hours of the night) too great to be bestowed upon the investigation of evidence. He was more desirous of reviving and enforcing old laws, than of enacting new ones. As it would have been presumptuous in him to decide difficult and intricate cases by his sole authority, he was always attended by some præfects, on whose judgment and experience he could rely; and he was principally guided by Scævola, who possessed a deep and accurate knowledge of the law. In many instances he allowed the senate to exercise a judicial power; and he always respected, and endeavoured to exalt, the dignity of that body. If a senator was accused of a capital offence, a public trial was not commenced, until the emperor had privately investigated the affair; and he would not suffer knights to take any part in such causes. When he was in Rome, he always attended the meetings of the senate, even though he had nothing to propose; and if he wished to make any proposal, he would travel even from Campania for that purpose. He generously bestowed honours upon many senators who were depressed by a virtuous poverty, and would not admit any one into their illustrious order, unless he was well acquainted with his merit. While he maintained the senatorian dignity, he was no less scrupulous in respecting the liberty of the people, whom he ruled with as much clemency and forbearance, as

MARCUS,
8, 10.
A. D. 170.

MARCUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 170.

if he had been actuated by a paternal desire of discouraging them from crime, and alluring them to virtue. Capitolinus records the following instances of his lenity. When one of the prætors had been guilty of gross misconduct, he did not compel him to abdicate his office, but merely ordered him to surrender his judicial functions to his colleague. A man of infamous character, named Veterasinus, being a candidate for some office, was commanded to clear his reputation from the aspersions cast upon it; and when he replied, that he saw many persons invested with the prætorship, who had fought with him in the arena, the emperor was not offended at his freedom. There was an impostor at Rome, who, seeking an occasion for himself and accomplices to plunder the city, harangued the people from a tree in the Campus Martius, and declared that fire would fall from heaven, and the world would be destroyed, if they saw him changed into a stork as he came down from the tree. He made his descent at the appointed time, and let a stork fly from his besom; but the artifice was too gross to escape detection, and when he was conducted to Marcus, his confession procured him a free pardon.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 17.

The plague still raged in the empire, and the prosecution of the Marcomannic war required the most vigorous exertions. The emperor, therefore, endeavoured to propitiate the gods by carefully restoring their worship, where it had been neglected; and in order to recruit his armies, he permitted slaves to be enlisted, as had been done in the time of the second Punic war. He also armed the gladiators, admitted the predatory bands of Dalmatia and Dardania into his troops, and purchased the succour of some of the Germans against the

barbarous tribes with whom he had to contend. As his treasures were exhausted, and he was reluctant to impose any fresh burden upon his subjects, he resolved to sell a great portion of the articles of luxury and ornament, that were accumulated in the palace of the Cæsars. Cups, therefore, of gold, crystal, and other materials—costly robes belonging to the empress—a variety of jewels that had been collected by Hadrian—statues and paintings, the work of celebrated artists—were offered to sale in the forum of Trajan during a period of two months; and sufficient money was thus raised to enable him to pursue the extensive war in which he was engaged. When victory had replenished his treasury, he allowed all persons, who wished it, to return their purchases, and to receive the value of them in gold; but he was not dissatisfied with those, who preferred retaining the rarities which had come into their possession.

MARCUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 170.

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Before he departed from Italy, he contracted a second marriage for his daughter Lucilla, although the year of mourning for her late husband, L. Verus, had not yet elapsed. Claudius Pompeianus, upon whom he bestowed her, was more distinguished by merit than by rank; he was the son of a Roman knight, and his family, which came from Antioch, was not considered noble enough for the alliance to which he was elevated. It appears, also, that he was advanced in age; and it is therefore not surprising, that the marriage was disagreeable to both Lucilla and her mother Faustina.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 20, 21.

About the same time Verus Cæsar, son of the emperor, expired at the age of seven years, in consequence of the excision of a tumour, which had formed under one of his ears. His father, sup-

MARCUS,
9, 10.
A. D. 170.

Dion. lxxl.

ported by the tenets of philosophy, or unwilling to embarrass the course of public affairs, did not mourn for him more than five days; and he would not allow the celebration of the games of Jupiter to be interrupted by any appearance of public grief. He ordered, that statues should be erected in honour of his son, that an image of him in gold should be carried at the Circensian games, and that his name should be inserted in the songs of the Salii.

The Moors, after ravaging nearly the whole of Spain, were defeated by the emperor's generals. A formidable revolt was kindled in Egypt by the Bucoli, or Bucolici, a savage people of that country, headed by Isidorus, a leader of extraordinary valour. They slew a Roman centurion, whom they had inveigled into their power, and, after sacrificing his companion, took an oath over his entrails, and then devoured them*. Being joined by many confederates in Egypt, and having defeated the Roman troops, they threatened the city of Alexandria, and had nearly succeeded in capturing it, when the progress of their rebellion was arrested by Avidius Cassius, the governor of Syria. The number of the insurgents, and their desperate valour, deterred him from attacking them in the field; but he so weakened their power, by creating dissensions among them, that they were unable to pursue their hostile projects.

MARCUS,
10-13.
A. D. 171-3.
Eutrop. viii. 13.
Dion. lxxl.

The emperor conducted the Marcomannic war with great vigour and perseverance; but a full and connected account of his exploits is not to be obtained from any of the ancient historians. For three successive years he remained at Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia; and the country contiguous

* If the reader is disposed to be sceptical on this subject, I recommend to his perusal the 15th satire of Juvenal.

to the Danube was the scene of many sanguinary contests. On one occasion, when the river was frozen over, the barbarians, after being defeated on land, rallied their troops with great courage upon the ice, thinking that in such a position, their experience and the training of their horses, would give them great advantage over their enemies, and enable them to recover the victory. The Romans, however (most of whom placed their shields upon the ice, and fixed one of their feet upon them, in order to stand more firmly) dragged the barbarians from their seats, or overthrew their horses, with so much superiority of strength and skill, that few of their antagonists survived the encounter. In the various battles which were fought, the German women sometimes took a part, and their bodies arrayed in armour were found among the dead. In one engagement the Marcomanni were successful, and killed Marcus Vindex, the præfect, to whose memory three statues were erected by the emperor. Both Pompeianus and Pertinax were invested with command in the Roman army; and no general signalized himself more than the latter, who, though of humble origin, was destined to be raised to the imperial dignity. After achieving a great victory, the Romans solicited their emperor for a largess; but he refused their request, declaring that, if he granted them such a favour, it must be drawn from the blood of their parents and relatives. However embarrassed with perils and difficulties, he always preserved his philosophical firmness, and never submitted to unreasonable demands, either from fear, or from a weak desire of popular applause.

MARCUS,
10. 13.
A. D. 171-3.

After defeating the Marcomanni and the Iazyges, the emperor was engaged in a war with the Quadi, which nearly proved fatal to himself and his army.

MARCUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 174.
Dion. lxxi.

MARCUS,
13, 14.
A D. 174.

His courage or his temerity led him into a perilous situation, in which the barbarians, who were far superior in number, enclosed his troops on all sides. The Romans at first did not despair of extricating themselves by their swords; but their enemies abstained from battle, and, carefully intercepting from them all supplies of water, trusted that they should gain a bloodless victory, by the mere effects of heat and thirst. While the Romans, faint and wounded, stood mournfully in the ranks, expecting that they must soon perish by the rage of the sun, the exhaustion of their bodies, or the fury of the barbarians, the clouds suddenly collected in the sky, and copious showers of rain descended upon them. They eagerly extended their shields and helmets to catch the needful supply, with which they not only allayed their own thirst, but refreshed their horses also. Although they were attacked by the Quadi, so that they were compelled to drink and to fight at the same instant, and some of the wounded are said to have swallowed their own blood in the water for which they so ardently longed, yet they achieved a great victory, and, being rescued from impending destruction, saluted Marcus (for the seventh time) with the title of *Imperator*.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 24.

Dion. lxxi.

This seems to be the simple account of an event, which has excited great controversy among theologians and other writers. Capitolinus relates, that the rain was obtained from heaven by the prayers of Marcus himself; but, according to Dion, there was a report, that the magical power of an Egyptian, named Arnuphis, who accompanied the emperor, was the cause of the desired relief. On the other hand, Xiphilinus, who abridged the history of Dion, openly accuses that author of perverting the truth;

MARCUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 174.

for he thinks it almost impossible, that he should be ignorant, that one of the Roman legions received the appellation of *Thundering*, because the prayers of its soldiers procured the storm which saved the army from destruction; and he denies, also, that Marcus gave any encouragement to the arts of Arnuphis or other magicians. In the opinion of Xiphilinus, the preservation of the Roman army ought to be attributed to the piety of the Christians. For he relates, that Marcus had with him a legion of soldiers, raised from Melitene (in Armenia Minor) who were all worshippers of Christ—that, while he was greatly perplexed at the dangers which threatened him on all sides, he was advised, by his prætorian præfect, to have recourse to the prayers of the Christians, which were believed to be effectual in obtaining the greatest blessings from heaven—that, in compliance with this suggestion, he besought them to intercede with their God—that God, deigning to listen to their prayers, refreshed the Roman troops with showers of rain, and at the same time struck their enemies with lightning—that Marcus, deeply impressed by such an interposition, issued an edict in honour of the Christians, and gave the legion the title of *Thundering*—and that the Greeks well knew that the legion bore this title, although they did not mention the reason for which it was bestowed. He states, also, that a letter of Marcus was said to be extant upon the subject of his extraordinary deliverance.

It seems undeniable, therefore, that the emperor and his army were indebted for their safety to a storm of rain and thunder; but Dion connects with the occurrence some circumstances which will not so readily obtain credit. He relates, that while fire and water were descending at the same time from

MARCUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 174.

heaven, the former did not touch the Romans, or if it came near them, was immediately extinguished; and on the other hand, that the rain was of no benefit to the barbarians, but rather (like oil) increased the violence of the fire which assailed them, so that some slew themselves in order to extinguish the flames by their blood, and others fled to the Romans, as if water was to be procured on their side alone. But, without indulging much scepticism, we may reject these marvellous circumstances; for the sudden appearance of the storm, and the joyous change in the aspect of their affairs, would naturally animate the Romans with sufficient strength and intrepidity to effect their deliverance. Whether the rain was granted to the prayers of the Christians is a question of too doubtful a nature for a judicious reasoner to pronounce a positive opinion; for the evidence, that such was the fact, is by no means indisputable, and it appears that the twelfth legion, to whom the interposition has been ascribed, was distinguished with the title of *Thundering*, in the time of Trajan*. It is quite accordant, however, with the principles of religion and philosophy, that a body of Christians, placed in circumstances of imminent peril, should implore the protection of their God, and that He should deign to grant them effectual succour. But no one will affirm that the rain was *miraculous*, unless he ventures to confound all the just distinctions of language, for the sake of maintaining his argument. Is it to be considered as an event, above or contrary to the course of nature, that a storm should arise, and rain should fall, in a country ad-

* "On trouve, par une inscription, que la douzième legion mesme avoit ce surnom dès le règne de Trajan."—Tillemont, who refers to Baronius, 176, s. 19, and to the notes on the Chronicon of Eusebius.

joining the Danube? The history of the Romans themselves records an extraordinary occurrence of a similar nature; for Sallust relates, in his Jugurthine war, that when Metellus advanced against Thala, through an arid and desolate part of Africa, he was surprised with heavy showers of rain, and although his troops had carried water with them, they preferred using that which fell from heaven, and were greatly elated, believing themselves to be under the special care of the immortal gods*. Will Christians allow, that this was a miracle wrought in behalf of heathen soldiers? and have they much stronger reason for affirming, that the army of Marcus was saved by a miraculous interposition? It is sufficient to believe, that the prayers of the Christians in the emperor's army may possibly have procured their deliverance; but the relief, although most opportune and providential, cannot be justly styled miraculous.

MARCUS,
13, 14.
A. D. 174.

The friends of Marcus often importuned him to quit the scene of war, and return to Rome; but he resolved not to listen to their solicitations, until he had compelled the barbarians to lay down their arms. After his victory, many of the hostile nations sent embassies to him, either to sue for peace, or to court his alliance. The Quadi proffered their submission, making an instant restoration of thirteen thousand prisoners, and promising that many more should soon be surrendered. But instead of adhering to their stipulations, they treacherously assisted the nations who continued at war with the Romans; they restored but few of their captives, and, expelling their king, Furtius, ventured to establish another by their own autho-

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.
Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 22.
Dion. lxxi.

* Milites religione pluvia magis usi; eaque res multum animis eorum addidit. Nam rati sese deis immortalibus curæ esse.—Sall. *Bell. Jug.* lxxv. 9.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.



rity. Marcus, therefore, refused to renew the treaty with them, or to acknowledge the prince whom they had selected. The Marcomanni, after submitting to some severe commands imposed upon them, were allowed to enjoy peace, upon condition of not settling within the distance of thirty-eight furlongs from the Danube. Many of them, and of the other barbarians, were dispersed by the emperor over Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Germany, and even Italy; but when those, who were stationed in Ravenna, rebelled and took possession of the city, he removed them all from Italy, and never permitted any more to be settled in that country.

The Quadi and the Marcomanni, who remained in their own territories, were so harassed by the vigilance and rapacity of their conquerors, that they sent ambassadors to the emperor to complain of the grievances which they suffered. They represented to him, that they were exposed to the licentious violence of twenty thousand soldiers, placed in garrisons throughout their country, who kept them in a state of constant insecurity, not suffering them to feed their cattle, nor to cultivate their land in peace, and who did not scruple to give refuge to deserters and prisoners of war. It does not appear that Marcus was very ready to alleviate their yoke; for the Quadi, indignant at the oppression which they encountered, made an attempt to emigrate with all their population into the country of the Semnones. But he was informed of their design, and prevented the execution of it by obstructing the roads which it was necessary for them to pass.

The Iazyges, another powerful nation of the barbarians, were at first so averse to peace, that

they condemned their King, Banadaspus, to chains for daring to treat upon the subject. Humbled, however, by the reverses of war, their nobles were glad to petition for the boon which they had so lately despised; and peace was granted to them upon nearly the same conditions as to the Quadi and Marcomanni. The Iazyges are said to have restored a hundred thousand prisoners; if this number is to be received as correct, it is a proof that the Roman soldiers had greatly degenerated from the valour of their ancestors, and that they were not inspired with the noble sentiments which one of their poets has placed in the mouth of the unfortunate Regulus*. If Marcus had not been threatened with extraordinary dangers, he would have rejected the offers of the Iazyges, and have endeavoured to annihilate their power; but the revolt of one of his own generals compelled him to adopt more pacific measures, and even to remit part of the conditions of peace, which he had at first exacted.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

Avidius Cassius, who attempted to usurp the imperial power, is supposed by some writers to have been descended from the celebrated family of the Cassii; but Dion relates, that he was a Syrian, the son of one Heliodorus, who by his great skill in rhetoric had raised himself to the dignity of præfect of Egypt. Although, probably, he was not of illustrious birth, yet he cherished at an early age an envious dislike to the imperial mode of government, and expressed his sentiments with so much freedom, that they were not concealed from those who were invested with power. History has preserved a letter which L. Verus addressed to Marcus, telling

Dion. lxxi.
Cass. vita.†

* *Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli, &c.*—Hor. Odes. iii. 5. 13.

† By Vulcatius Gallicanus, in the Augustan History.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

him that the conduct of Cassius ought to be observed with watchful suspicion; for he appeared greatly dissatisfied with the administration of public affairs, and insolently derided Marcus as a philosophical old woman, and Verus as a luxurious buffoon. But Marcus was not impelled by these representations to display any precipitate rigour against Cassius; he considered that he was a brave and strict commander, whose services were necessary for the protection of the empire; and he declared, in the extravagant spirit of the Stoic philosophy, that his children might perish, if they did not deserve to be beloved as much as Avidius, or if the life of Cassius was of more importance to the state than that of the offspring of Marcus. Cassius, therefore, whatever ambitious designs he might cherish, enjoyed the same authority in the Roman armies, as if he had been deserving of the highest confidence.

He was exceedingly tenacious of military discipline, in which respect he was desirous of being compared to Marius, but his punishments were often so severe, as to draw upon him the imputation of cruelty. He invented a barbarous mode of torture for condemned soldiers: they were fastened to a long beam, and a fire was kindled under them, so that some were burned by the flames, some were suffocated by the smoke, and others died in the agonies of terror. He cut off the hands of deserters, or maimed them in the legs, declaring, that such examples were more dreadful, than the infliction of capital punishment. Some of his centurions once ventured, without his orders, to attack a body of Sarmatians, who were carelessly straggling on the banks of the Danube. Having slain three thousand of them, and carried off a great booty,

they expected to be rewarded for the exploit; but Cassius ordered them to be crucified, declaring, that they might have fallen into an ambush, and that the majesty of the Roman Empire was brought into peril by their temerity. The soldiers, incensed by the ignominious punishment of their comrades, began to mutiny; when their leader, without arms, and almost without dress, rushed into the midst of them, exclaiming, "Strike me, if you dare, and aggravate your contempt of discipline by the most atrocious wickedness." This display of unshaken intrepidity overawed his rebellious troops: the barbarians, also, thought it expedient to sue for peace, when they observed that even victory was spurned by the Roman general, if purchased at the sacrifice of discipline.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

Cassius exercised as much rigour in proscribing luxury, as in enforcing obedience among the soldiers; and for this reason Marcus appointed him governor of Syria, where the legions had sunk into all the effeminate habits of indolence and pleasure. He instantly commanded the troops to absent themselves from the voluptuous resorts of Daphne, and to banish all kinds of delicacy from their camp; he also inspected their arms and dress every seventh day, and enjoined a strict performance of military exercises, remarking how disgraceful it was, that soldiers should be less practised in their duties, than wrestlers and gladiators. By such means he effected a salutary reform in the discipline of his army, and success followed his standard in Armenia, Arabia, and Egypt. He secured the esteem and affection of all the people of the East, and particularly of the inhabitants of Antioch; and it is probable, that this popularity encouraged his ambitious hopes, and tempted him to aspire to the

MARCUS.
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

imperial dignity. Historians relate, that he was instigated by Faustina, who, fearing that the death of the feeble Marcus would not be a distant event, and that she and her children would be exposed to peril, or at least condemned to obscurity, secretly invited Cassius to take possession of the empire, and of herself at the same time. While he was revolving this proposal, he received intelligence (according to Dion) that Marcus was dead; and, without waiting to ascertain the truth, he declared himself emperor, and tried to authorize his pretensions by affirming, that he had been elected by the army in Pannonia. When he discovered that the rumour of the death of Marcus was not true, he considered that his decision was irrevocable, and that it was as safe to persevere in his enterprize as to recede. All the eastern provinces within Mount Taurus soon acknowledged his authority, and it seemed as if the empire was going to be agitated by the sanguinary contests of a great civil war.

The emperor was at the head of his armies on the Danube, when Martius Verus, governor of Capadocia, sent him information of the rebellion of Cassius. Surprise and perplexity at first constrained him to suppress the unfavourable tidings; but when he observed, that the minds of the soldiers were disturbed by various rumours, he publicly harangued them upon the subject, and, while he expressed no doubt that he should easily defeat the projects of Cassius, he declared his resolution to prove to the world, that he could maintain a generous and placable spirit towards a perfidious enemy. He professed the same sentiments in writing to the senate, and abstained from all invectives against Cassius, except that he frequently accused him of ingratitude. The senate, however, declared Cassius

a traitor, and ordered his property to be confiscated into the public treasury, as Marcus refused to take possession of it. In the mean time, the fears of the citizens began to be excited at Rome, and the timid foreboded, that Cassius, in the absence of the emperor, would march to the city, and plunder it in merciless anger, on account of the hostile decrees which the senate had issued against him. The alarm, however, was groundless, for the rebellion was soon terminated by the death of its author. Of this event no more is recorded, than that, while Cassius was walking, he was suddenly attacked by a centurion named Antonius, who struck him on the neck, and was then carried forward by the impetuosity of the horse which he was riding; as the wound was not fatal, Cassius might have escaped, if an inferior officer* had not come up, and put an end to his life. Thus ended his dream of ambition, (as Dion aptly describes it) after continuing three months and six days. There appears to have been little to admire in his character, except his military qualities, and these often transported him into fierceness and cruelty; and there was no plea that he could invent in excuse for his rebellion, except that Marcus showed too much lenity to the wicked and the rapacious, and that he was too much engaged in the disquisitions of philosophy to restore the ancient vigour of the Roman empire.

The head of Cassius was cut off, and carried to the emperor, who was so far from exulting at the sight, that he lamented that he had lost an opportunity of proving his clemency; for he stated, that it was his intention to have preserved the life of Cassius, after reproaching him with the benefits which he had conferred upon him. Mæcianus, the

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

* A *decurio*.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

son of Cassius, who had been entrusted by his father with the government of Alexandria, was put to death by the army. The other children of the rebellious general were not only permitted to live, but enjoyed their liberty with a considerable portion of wealth, and were not even debarred from honours by Marcus; but his son Commodus, when emperor, impelled by the suspicious fears of a tyrant, ordered them all to be burnt alive, under pretence that they had been detected in a conspiracy. Marcus would not allow the senate to exercise much severity upon the individuals who had been engaged in the rebellion; and it was his earnest request, that no one of senatorian rank should be put to death, while he governed the empire. Only a few centurions, therefore, were beheaded, and those who were condemned to banishment were soon recalled. He extended his mercy to all the nations, and cities, which had thrown off their allegiance to him: even the people of Antioch were forgiven, although at first he was so greatly displeased with them, that he suspended some of their privileges and amusements. To complete the oblivion of past offences, and afford greater security to persons who were secretly guilty, he destroyed all the letters of Cassius without perusing them. Some, however, ascribed the honour of this action to Martius Verus, who was sent to take the command in Syria, and who (as they stated) destroyed the letters by his own authority, declaring, that he confidently expected the approbation of the emperor; but if he did not obtain it, he would rather die alone, than hazard the lives of many others. The clemency of Marcus appeared to some of his friends excessive, and one of them, who took the freedom of censuring it, asked him: "What would have been

the case, if Cassius had been victorious?" To which Marcus replied: "I have not been so negligent of the gods, nor so vicious in my life, that Cassius should be able to conquer me." He then declared his opinion, that just and virtuous rulers were not doomed to be overthrown by rebels, and that Nero, Caligula, and other emperors, who had been destroyed, had incurred the fate which was due to their crimes; he did not even except Galba, whose death he imputed to avarice, which he pronounced to be a most offensive vice in an emperor. These sentiments of Marcus, although correct to a considerable extent, are not to be admitted without limitation. A perusal of history, and a knowledge of human nature, will constrain us to lament, that virtue is not always triumphant even upon a throne, and that, in every station of life, it will encounter both open and insidious adversaries.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

Faustina, did not long survive the overthrow of Cassius, whose designs (as it was alleged by many persons) she had treacherously abetted. She died suddenly at Halala, a town situated at the foot of Mount Taurus; and while some ascribed her death to the violence of gout, others suspected that she herself had accelerated it, through fear of being discovered as an instigator of the rebellion of Cassius. That she was really one of his partizans, is not proved by any positive evidence*; but the known vices of her character were of so base a nature, that we cannot wonder, that the Romans believed her capable of entering into the most atrocious schemes of wickedness. The daughter of the virtuous Antoninus, and the wife of the no less virtuous Aurelius, degraded herself by adulterous

Dion. lxxi.
Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 26, 19.

* There are letters in the life of Avidius Cassius, which would prove her to have been hostile to that general; but they are supposed to be spurious.

MARCUS,
14, 15.
A. D. 175.

intrigues with the lowest of mankind, and it was doubted (not without reason) whether her son Commodus could be considered as the offspring of her husband. When Marcus was advised to separate himself from so unworthy a woman, he is said to have answered: "If I divorce my wife, I must also give back her dowry:" meaning the empire which he had received from her father Antoninus. It is not possible to determine whether it was this consideration, or stoical indifference, or incredulity, that induced him always to behave towards Faustina, and to speak of her, as if she had been the most virtuous of her sex. In his *Meditations*,* he commends her as a submissive and affectionate wife. His love, or his prudence, did not allow her to be separated from him in his campaigns, and, while she resided with him in his summer quarters, she was saluted with the novel title of *Mater Castorum*. After her death, he exhibited all the appearance of sincere grief, and the senate, with prompt adulation, consecrated Faustina as a goddess, and decreed to her a temple, an altar, and several other kinds of honour.

MARCUS,
15, 16.
A. D. 176.
Dion. lxxi.
Capit. Viâ. M.
Anton. 26, 27.

Marcus, who had proceeded into the East, in order to suppress the rebellion of Cassius, displayed there the forbearance of a peacemaker, rather than the anger of an offended ruler. Although he refused at first to visit the city of Antioch, he afterwards relented, and honoured it with his presence. The town of Cyrrhus, in Coele Syria, was avoided by him, because it was the birth-place of Cassius; and he caused a law to be enacted, that persons should not be governors of the provinces, from which themselves and ancestors were sprung. Although the people of Alexandria had espoused the cause of Cassius, and freely expressed their

* Lib i. cap. 17.

wishes for his success, Marcus generously forgot their hostile spirit, and even left his daughter in their city. In his intercourse with the Egyptians in general, he divested himself of the majesty of an emperor, and exhibited the unconstrained behaviour of a citizen and a philosopher. He ratified peace with the kings of the East who came to meet him, and with the ambassadors of the Parthians; in all the Oriental provinces he gained the affection of the inhabitants, and in many he left memorials* of the philosophical spirit which he constantly cherished. On his return he visited Athens, and bestowed many honours upon its citizens; and for the benefit of all men, who wished to cultivate learning, he appointed instructors in the various branches of science, and allowed them yearly stipends. Before he left Attica he was initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and, confiding in his courage and innocence, entered alone into the most sacred part of the temple. As soon as he arrived in Italy, he assumed the *toga*, and ordered all his soldiers to lay aside their military dress, and appear in the distinctive garb of Roman citizens.

MARCUS,
15, 16,
A. D. 176.

Although Commodus was only in the sixteenth year of his age, yet the indulgence of his father, and the adulation of the senate, deemed him worthy of the highest honours. He had already been invested with the tribunician power; and now, by a special dispensation of the law, he was elected consul for the succeeding year. He also received the title of *Imperator*, and triumphed, in conjunction with his father, on account of the victories which had been gained in the Marcomannic war. It was not long, before the higher titles of *Augustus* and *Father of his Country* were bestowed upon him.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 27.
Lamprid.
Vit. Com. 2.
Dion. lxxi.

* Philosophiæ vestigia.—*Capitolinus*.

MARCUS,
16, 17.
A. D. 177.

Largesses of great amount, and spectacles of extraordinary splendour, caused the citizens of Rome to rejoice in the arrival of their emperor. He displayed a still more munificent spirit in remitting whatever was due to his own, or the public, treasury for a retrospective period of forty-six years. Hadrian had granted a similar remission for sixteen years; Marcus did not include these in the term for which he proposed to relieve the public debtors; but he followed the example of that prince in ordering all the bonds to be collected in the forum and committed to the flames. Many cities experienced his generous philanthropy, especially Smyrna, which had been overturned by an earthquake, and which he caused to be rebuilt.

MARCUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 178.
Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 27-29.
Dion. lxxi.

The Marcomannic war was soon renewed with great violence; and the Roman generals, the two Quintilii, although distinguished for their courage and ability, as well as their fraternal concord, were unable to bring it to a successful termination. Marcus, therefore, resolved to return to the scene of hostilities, and to take with him his son Commodus, after having united him in marriage to Crispina, the daughter of Bruttius Præsens. Before he departed from Rome, he requested the senate to grant him money from the public treasury; for although he enjoyed absolute power, he professed to consider, that every thing, even the house he inhabited, belonged to the senate and people. He took an oath in the Capitol, that no senator had been put to death with his consent and knowledge, and that if his wishes alone had been consulted, he would have preserved the lives of those who had rebelled against him. In imitation of the ancient mode of declaring war, he hurled a blood-stained spear towards the country of the enemies that he

was going to attack. He also undertook an office of a novel nature, such as the Romans had never before connected with the functions of their generals and emperors. For the philosophers entreated him, before he ventured upon the perils of war, to explain the difficult and occult parts of ancient wisdom; and yielding to their solicitations, he discussed for three days the abstruse questions that were agitated in the schools of the various sects. Although Vulcatius affirms that the request of the philosophers was suggested by a serious desire for truth*, others may suspect that they were guilty of a little ironical adulation, and may consider, that it would have been wiser in an emperor to have rejected the pedantry of philosophy, and to have been satisfied with the unaffected practice of its essential rules.

MARCUS,
17, 18.
A. D. 178.
Vit. Avid.
Cass. 3.
Aur. Vict. 16.

The Marcomanni, Hermanduri, Sarmatæ and Quadi, were the principal nations that had ventured to resume hostilities. They were defeated, at length, in a sanguinary engagement which lasted the whole day; and the success of his armies seemed to assure the emperor, that he should soon reduce his fierce enemies to the condition of Roman subjects.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 27, 29.
Dion. lxxi.

He was not, however, permitted to enjoy such a consummation of his achievements, being attacked by a malady which proved fatal. At the commencement of his illness, he seemed to anticipate an unfavourable issue; for he sent for Commodus, and besought him not to neglect the war, although it was nearly brought to a conclusion, nor to appear regardless of the welfare of the state. As if he was desirous of terminating his days, he abstained from all food and drink; and it was believed, that the

MARCUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 180.

* Ut rogatus sit non adulatione, sed seriò.

MARCUS,
19. 20.
A. D. 180.

vicious disposition, which he had observed in his son, was one of the causes which rendered him indifferent about his recovery. He recommended him, however, to the soldiers, and made a solemn address to his friends and officers, entreating them to assist him with wise and faithful counsels, during the inexperience of his youth. When the tribune came to receive the watchword from him, he dismissed him with this significant answer: "Go to the rising, I am only the setting, sun." On the seventh day of his illness, he admitted Commodus alone into his presence, but instantly ordered him to retire, for fear of infecting him with his disorder. After his departure, he covered his head, as if he was going to compose himself to sleep, and at night expired. The confused and ambiguous account of Capitolinus might lead the reader to surmise, that he died of plague or some contagious disease; but Dion confidently affirms, that he was not destroyed by the illness which afflicted him, but by the treacherous arts of the physicians, who wished to ingratiate themselves with Commodus. His death took place on the seventeenth day of March, most probably at Vindebona (now Vienna); but some suppose, that Sirmium was the place of his decease. He had enjoyed the imperial dignity a little more than nineteen years, and had nearly completed the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 18, 19.
Dion. lxxi.
Aur. Vict. 16.
Vict. Epit. 16.

The intelligence of the death of Marcus was received with sincere regret by the army, the senate, and the people; for his subjects, according to their age, had been accustomed to regard him as their brother, their father, or their son. On the day of his funeral, they consoled themselves with the assurance, that, as he had been lent to them by the gods, he had certainly returned to the gods; and,

MARCUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 180.

as if their suffrages had any power to place him among celestial beings, they unanimously passed a decree for his deification. In performing this ceremony the senate and people did not meet separately, but in the same place; which (according to Capitolinus) was a circumstance, that never occurred before or afterwards. Temples, an order of priests, and other honours were readily voted to the deceased emperor; and persons of competent fortune, who did not place an image of him in their houses, were considered as guilty of impiety. The statues, therefore, of Marcus, long appeared among the *Penates* of the citizens; and the emperor Diocletian distinguished him with special veneration above his other deities, often declaring, that he wished to resemble him in the virtues of his life, and that even Plato could not equal him in the cultivation of philosophy.

It must be acknowledged, that Marcus had exhibited, under circumstances of great temptation and difficulty, almost all the excellences that could adorn a heathen prince; he had rigorously followed the course of virtue, which he had commenced in his youth, and had neither been corrupted by the solicitations of pleasure, nor overcome by the fatigues and dangers which continually harassed him in the government of the empire. His ardent love of virtue displayed itself in innumerable instances of justice, moderation, patience, fortitude, and magnanimity; but benevolence* was the great and pre-eminent ornament of his character, and he endeavoured to consecrate that virtue, by erecting to it a temple in the Capitol. Although he was scrupulously strict in discharging his own duties, he was lenient and even remiss in

* *Εὐεργεσία*.—Dion.

MARCUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 180.

Capit. Vit. M.
Anton. 20.

tolerating the faults and vices of others. The intrigues of the empress Faustina were so well known to all the citizens, that they became topics of jest and sarcasm upon the stage; and yet Marcus not only persisted in conniving at them, but allowed Tertullus*, and others of her paramours, to be promoted to various honours. His indulgence to his son, although a more natural fault, was productive of greater injury to the state. It is probable, that the strictest coercion of education would not have entirely overcome the vicious propensities of Commodus; nor was it to be expected, that Marcus should despair of the reformation of his son, who had attained only his nineteenth year, and that he should so crush all natural affection by the rigour of disinterested patriotism, as to allow another to usurp the place of his own offspring, in succeeding to the imperial dignity. It is certain, however, that Marcus, either embarrassed by the multiplicity of urgent affairs, or yielding to the weakness of paternal love, did not exert the strict authority of a father over Commodus, any more than he claimed the full rights of a husband over Faustina. A more vigorous controul over both might, in some degree, have restrained their licentiousness, although, probably, it would not have rendered either of them pure and virtuous. It might even have exposed him to the censure of exercising a tyrannical harshness in the government of his family; for although the proper medium in the practice of any virtue is seldom attained, yet there are very few persons who have the discrimination to estimate, or the candour to

* The joke concerning Tertullus depends upon a pun, which cannot be translated. *Mimus in scenâ, præsente Antonino, quum stupidus nomen adulteri uxoris à servo quæreret, et ille diceret ter Tullus, et adhuc stupidus quæreret, respondit ille, Jam dixi ter, Tullus dicitur.* Capit. 29.

acknowledge, the merit of their contemporaries in accurately preserving the balance between opposite extremes.

MARCUS,
19, 20,
A. D. 180.

While the justice and clemency of Marcus towards his heathen subjects entitled him to unqualified praise, his conduct to the persecuted Christians displayed neither the wisdom of a philosopher nor the equity of a statesman. He had been imbued at an early age with deep veneration for the rites of idolatry; and, in addition to the prejudices which education instilled, he seems to have been inclined by nature to the weakness of a credulous superstition; for he relates, at the end of the first book of his *Meditations*, that remedies for vertigo and spitting of blood were communicated to him in dreams, both at Caieta and Chrysa. In proportion as he was addicted to the religion of his youth, he was hostile to the Christians, whom he believed to be corrupt in their lives, and obstinate in maintaining their innovating tenets. "He did not revoke the edict of Antoninus Pius, nor abrogate the laws which preceding emperors had enacted in their favour; but he did what was equally pernicious to them. Without examining impartially their cause, he lent an easy and attentive ear to all the most virulent insinuations of their enemies, and especially to the malignant calumnies of the philosophers, who accused them of the most horrid crimes, and the most monstrous impiety, and charged them with renewing the dreadful feast of Thyestes, and the incestuous amours of the Theban prince. In consequence of his unjust edicts, judges and magistrates received the accusations, which even slaves and the vilest of the perjured rabble brought against the followers of Jesus. And as former edicts were positive and express against

MARCUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 180.

inflicting punishment upon such of the Christians as were guilty of no crime ; the corrupt judges, who from interest or popularity desired their destruction, were obliged to suborn false accusers to charge them with actions, that might bring them within the reach of the laws*."

Euseb. iv. 15.
v. 5, &c.
Justin Apol.

The authority of the emperor and the magistrates easily kindled the fury of an ignorant populace, and the Christians were assailed with persecutions in different parts of the empire. At the commencement of the year 166, several martyrs were devoured by wild beasts at Smyrna, after having suffered some lingering tortures, which proved the constancy of their faith, and the wanton cruelty of their enemies. Very soon afterwards Polycarp, bishop of that city, was condemned to the flames. The persecutors were not inactive at Rome ; and the learned Justin Martyr, eager to avert or to share the perils that threatened his brethren, wrote his second *Apology*, which was addressed to the emperor and the senate. But, as blind rancour is never appeased by remonstrance or argument, Justin was beheaded at Rome with some other Christians, by order of Junius Rusticus, the præfect of the city†. It appears, that after the great victory which Marcus gained over the Quadi in consequence of the extraordinary storm of rain that refreshed his army, he was more favourably disposed towards the Christians, and ordered that those, who accused them unjustly, should be punished with death. But the edict was nugatory ; for in the year 177, the people having excited insurrections, indulged their sanguinary rage against the unhappy Christians. In the province of Gaul, and especially in the city of Lyons, the

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. 2, part 1.

† Vid. Tillemont, *Persécution de l'Eglise sous l'Empereur M. Aurèle*.

tumults were most violent, and there were many who suffered martyrdom for their profession of the Christian faith.

MARCUS,
19, 20.
A. D. 180.

The calumnious attacks made upon their religion produced *Apologies* from the pens of several learned Christians; Melito, Athenagoras, Miltiades, and Tatian (besides Justin Martyr) ventured to write in behalf of that sacred cause, which they saw everywhere persecuted and traduced.

The heathen authors, who flourished in the age of Marcus Antoninus, were neither very numerous nor eminent. The witty but profane writings of Lucian are well known, and also the history of Pausanias, in which he describes the topography and antiquities of the cities of Greece. Philo-
Dion. lxxi.
sophy was so much encouraged by Marcus, that many pretended to devote themselves to it in order to enjoy his favour and patronage. But the emperor himself was the greatest philosopher of his age, in writing as well as practice. His twelve books of *Meditations*, composed during the dangers of war and the fatigues of business, inculcate the most sublime sentiments in the simplest language; and there is not much danger, that a modern reader will be misled by the Stoic errors and paradoxes with which they are interspersed.

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FROM

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[A. D. 68, TO A. D. 180.]

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T. Annius Verus Pollio	
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T. Flavius Sabinus	
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Emp. Domitian x. - - - - -	84
T. Flavius Sabinus, ii.	
Emp. Domitian, xi - - - - -	85
T. Aurelius Fulvius	
Emp. Domitian, xii. - - - - -	86
Ser. Cornelius Dolabella	
Emp. Domitian, xiii. - - - - -	87
Aulus Volusius Saturninus	
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L. Minucius Rufus	
T. Aurelius Fulvius, ii. - - - - -	89
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M. Cocceius Nerva, ii.	
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C. Socius Senecio, ii.									
Emp. Trajan, iii.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100
M. Julius Fronto									
Emp. Trajan, iv.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	101
Sex. Articuleius Pætus									
C. Socius Senecio, iii.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102
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T. Julius Candidus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105
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C. Calpurnius Piso	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	111
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- Priscianus conspires against Antoninus Pius, and kills himself, ii. 460.
- Priscus, C. Lutorius, put to death for a poem, i. 142.
- Priscus, Helvidius, sent with a legion to tranquillize Armenia, i. 344.
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- Sabina, Poppæa, Nero becomes enamoured of, i. 378. Married to Nero, 417.
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